Migration and Female Labour: Samoan Women in New Zealand

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...as if the task were the dialectic balancing of concepts, and not the grasping of real relations.

Karl Marx (1857)
General Introduction to the Grundrisse

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Abstract

Labour migration from underdeveloped countries of the 'Third World' to developed countries of the 'First World' was a marked phenomenon in the thirty years that followed the end of the Second World War. These labour migrations were initially produced by a demand for low skilled workers but have set in place a process which has resulted in the formation of large ethnically differentiated populations of migrants and their descendants in developed countries.

This thesis focuses on one such labour migration and considers the position occupied in the New Zealand labour market by two groups of Samoan women; the Island born women who have migrated from Western Samoa, and the New Zealand born women who are part of the new ethnic minority developing in New Zealand as a result of labour migration.

The discussion is based on an analysis of census data and the findings of a series of indepth semi-structured interviews with Samoan women living in Christchurch. It is shown that New Zealand born and Island born women have quite different experiences in the New Zealand labour market.

The Marxian concept of a Reserve Army of Labour is employed in an attempt to analyse the labour force position of the two groups of women. The difficulties experienced in the application of this concept demonstrate the inadequacy of an analysis based purely on the working of capital. The experiences of Samoan women in the New Zealand labour force can only be understood with an analysis which takes into consideration the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy.

Chapter One

Migration and Female Labour

An Introduction

Labour migration from underdeveloped countries of the 'Third World' to developed countries of the 'First World' was a marked phenomenon in the thirty years following the end of the Second World War. These labour migrations were initially produced by a demand for low skilled workers, but have set in place a process which has resulted in the formation of large ethnically differentiated populations of migrants and their descendants in developed countries. Examples of such population movements include those from Southern Europe and Northern Africa into Western Europe, from the West Indies and Indian subcontinent into the United Kingdom, and from the Pacific Islands into New Zealand.

Despite the considerable amount of research on these labour migrations there was very little information relating specifically to female migrants. For the most part male experiences were emphasized, or aggregate data was examined without any recognition that the experiences associated with migration may be fundamentally different for women and men. If women were not ignored, they were usually seen as dependents. The expression 'migrants and their families' so often found in migration studies translates as 'migrants' i.e. men, and 'their families' i.e. dependent women and children (Morokvasic 1983). Women were seen in their roles as wives and mothers, and stereotyped as economically unproductive.

More recently it has been acknowledged that, despite their invisibility in the literature about labour migration, women do in fact make up a large proportion of many labour flows and and in numerous contexts contribute significantly to the labour forces of the receiving countries. Several recent studies have demonstrated that in some cases it is actually the women of the household who

secure the first labour contracts (Simon and Brettel 1986). There is clearly scope for further research on the experience of women in labour migration.

In the past geographers interested in 'women' have tended to focus on the variations in men's and women's experiences; describing, for example, the differences between men and women in access to goods and services in the urban environment, or the differential participation of men and women in the labour market (WIBG 1984). The variations between the experiences of men and women have also tended to be the focus in research on female migration. These studies operated within conventional frameworks and aimed to contribute information about women to the cumulative body of geographic knowledge. However it is not enough to simply make women visible in discussions about geographic phenomena.

During the last decade a growing amount of feminist literature has highlighted the need for a more innovative approach. It is now clear that much of the existing research about women does not challenge, nor even analyse in any systematic way, the social basis of unequal gender relations. Feminist geography must be centrally concerned with the ideologies, institutions, structures and practises that create and reproduce unequal material conditions and oppressive power relations between men and women (McDowell 1988). Commitment to a feminist perspective has numerous implications for the development of a research project. Not only does it impact upon the choice of topic, it also forces the development of new concepts and theories, and influences the methodology adopted. All of these issues will be discussed in the course of this thesis.

This thesis will focus on the consequences of one specific labour migration by considering the position occupied in the New Zealand labour market by women of Samoan descent.(1) There are approximately 33 000 Samoan women now living in New Zealand, most of whom have either migrated since the 1950s or have been born in New Zealand to migrant parents (Dept of Statistics 1986). The incorporation of these women into the New Zealand labour market should be seen within the context of two simultaneous and interacting processes; the changing nature of labour migration and the current restructuring of the global capitalist

economy.

Firstly the changing nature of the migration process must be considered. The transformation of temporary migrant workforces into settler populations is an established fact throughout advanced capitalist countries. Foreign workers were initially recruited to help solve temporary labour shortages in developed countries created by rapid economic growth in the post war era. However the stage of development which required mass labour migration to developed countries ended in the late 1970s with the onset of recession and rising unemployment. Employers and governments alike expected that migrant workers would pack up and go home should their labour become superfluous. This expectation was mistaken. Instead the temporary workers of the 1960s and 1970s have become permanent settlers in the late 1980s. Thus the main issue is no longer migration itself, rather it is the societal position of the new ethnic minorities which have developed out of the post war labour migrations (Castles 1989).

The second process crucial to an understanding of the position of Samoan women in the New Zealand labour force is the restructuring of the global economy which is currently taking place. Before the processes of incorporation, or exclusion, of different groups into the labour force can be analyzed it is necessary to understand the nature of advanced capitalism (Spoonley 1989).

Changes in global economic patterns since the mid 1970s have led to major shifts in the spatial distribution of industrial activity, capital flows and labour migrations. These changes include a reduction in the number of manual positions available in the manufacturing sector of developed countries, the rise of the Newly Industrialising Countries, the reorganization of production and distribution within transnational corporations, the increased role of globally mobile finance capital, and the enhanced role of 'global cities' (Castles 1989).

While many of the outcomes are still unknown, it is clear that the international reorganization of capital has generated massive upheavals in economic, social and spatial conditions in New Zealand. New forms of industrial organisation have been rapidly assimilated, and the Labour government has moved to facilitate

change through massive deregulation of the economy since 1984. It has been argued that these changes signal a completely new era in the way in which New Zealand is incorporated into the international economy (Britton 1989).

For the purposes of this study one of the most significant consequences of economic restructuring has been in the constitution of the New Zealand labour market. There has been a stagnation in the overall level of employment, a sharp rise in the level of unemployment and a shift in the composition of employment opportunities away from manufacturing towards services. Because the manufacturing sector has traditionally been the major site of paid employment for Samoan women workers in New Zealand, restructuring is leading to changes in the way in which Samoan women are incorporated into the New Zealand labour market.

In order to explore more fully the labour force position of Samoan women in the context of the changes generated by the transition from mass labour migration to permanent settlement, and the framework of restructuring within which the processes of migration and settlement are taking place, the Marxian concept of a reserve army of labour will be considered. This concept has been utilized in influential attempts to analyze the position of both migrant workers (Castles and Kosack 1973, Collins 1984, 1988, Lever Tracey 1981, Lever Tracey and Quinlan 1988, Miles 1986) and women (Anthias 1980, Beechey 1978, Bruegel 1979, Power 1983) in the labour force of advanced capitalist economies.

This thesis will demonstrate that there are both empirical and theoretical difficulties associated with the use of the reserve army of labour conceptualization. On an empirical level, the general claim that Samoan women constitute a reserve army of labour for the New Zealand economy is difficult to substantiate. Such a claim fails to consider the sexually divided nature of the labour market, the diversity within the category 'Samoan women' and the complexity of the structural processes at work.

The concept of a reserve army of labour is difficult to operationalize in empirical research because of a fundamental theoretical weakness. Once this weakness is

identified an attempt can be made to move beyond the confines of existing frameworks towards the construction of an analysis which better represents the experiences of migrant and minority women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy.

The early chapters of the thesis establish context. Chapter two contains a critical discussion in which an attempt is made to theorize the position of migrant women in advanced capitalist economies. Chapter three presents an historical overview of the political economy of both Western Samoa and New Zealand, and examines the changing conditions under which labour migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand has occured.

The second part of the thesis focuses on empirical detail. Chapter four provides an overview of the field research. Chapters five, six and seven examine the labour market characteristics of two generations of Samoan women; the Island born women who have migrated from Western Samoa, and the New Zealand born women who are part of the ethnic minority developing in New Zealand as a result of labour migration. In Chapter five levels of labour force participation are discussed. This includes consideration of economic activity rates, hours of work and structure of work. Chapter six looks at the nature of the jobs undertaken by Samoan women in New Zealand and focuses on occupational distribution. Other issues considered in this chapter include recruitment, work histories and income. In Chapter seven levels of education and training are examined. This is followed by discussions of racial exclusion, unemployment and unionisation.

Chapter eight relates the empirical detail of the previous three chapters to the substantive theoretical issues raised in Chapter two. In this chapter the concept of a reserve army of labour is used to explore more fully the distinctive labour force positions of Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women. In the concluding chapter, Chapter nine, an attempt is made to move beyond the confines of present theoretical frameworks towards the construction of an analysis which better represents the experiences of migrant and minority women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy.

Chapter Two

International Labour Migration and the Sexual Division of Labour: A Theoretical Discussion

In this chapter an attempt is made to theorize the position of migrant women in an advanced capitalist economy. The discussion is informed by ongoing debates in two distinct areas of interest. The first of these is the literature on the political economy of labour migration and the other is socialist-feminist(2) theories of women and waged work. Neither of these two bodies of literature is entirely satisfactory. Women tend to disappear in discussions about labour migration, just as migrants tend to disappear in discussions about women's participation in the paid work force. However relevant points do emerge from both sets of literature. In order to identify these points it is useful to review the literature drawing out issues pertinent to this study.

2.1 The Political Economy of Labour Migration

Traditionally, geographers have tended to regard international migration as simply the spatial mobility of people across national boundaries (eg. Salt and Clout 1976). The main explanatory framework is based on the axiom of individual choice and motivation in a 'free market'. The basic variables are a set of push and pull factors that take into consideration economic disparities between the 'sending' and the 'receiving' countries (Lee 1966, Thomas and Peterson 1968).

Over the past fifteen years geographers writing on international migration have been significantly influenced by work conducted within the Marxist political economy school. The focus for writers using this approach (and it should be emphasised at this stage that there is no one political economy approach, but rather a diverse and often contradictory set of perspectives) is the relationship

between migration and capitalist development. The theoretical impetus for this school of thought comes from the writings of Marx and Engels and a dominant concern is to maintain an analytical link with Marx's conception of the law of capital accumulation, which is seen as the inner dynamic of the working of the capitalist mode of production (Miles 1987).

However, much of the conceptual framework of the Marxist literature on the political economy of labour migration originates not from Marxian orthodoxy, but from the work of two French Marxists, Althusser and Balibar (1970). It is, therefore, necessary to define certain key concepts quite specifically.

According to Marx, a mode of production has a material and a social aspect. The forces of production are the material aspect. They consist of labour power and the means of production; land, tools, machinery, and the way in which these are technically combined. The social aspect of production refers specifically to the relations of production, that is, the social organisation of this combination. Marx defined historical stages according to their distinctive mode of production. He saw these stages as successive in the evolution of human society and linked to each other by a transitional period.

Althusser and Balibar (1970) emphasized the abstract nature of the Marxian concept of the mode of production and argued that it is only meaningful if it is situated within the context of a specific social formation. For example, if the relations of production define a certain distribution of the means of production to different classes, then certain legal and political conditions will be necessary to ensure the maintenance of that distribution. Similarly if a mode of production presupposes the existence of commodity relations, then definite legal and contractual forms are required for that mode of production to exist.

In their discussion about modes of production Althusser and Balibar went on to examine the historical stages in human society. Rather than simply defining each stage by its distinctive mode of production, they argued that each stage is characterized most fundamentally by the way in which surplus is appropriated and distributed. This in turn corresponds to the way in which the forces of production

are technically and socially combined - the mode of production. Thus the demarcation between historical modes of production is seen in terms of the type of surplus extraction, which can take an ideological, political or economic form. For example in the capitalist mode of production, surplus is appropriated by economic means, commodity exchange, and the forces and relations of production are operated by means of that exchange (Hoogvelt 1982).

Althusser and Balibar also point out that one mode of production cannot replace another mode of production overnight. During the transitional period it must be possible for two modes of production to coexist. Therefore a social formation, remembering that a mode of production cannot exist in reality without an accompanying social formation, can be constituted by a specific overlapping of more than one mode of production. The modes of production are in contradiction, in the sense that one will replace another. However each mode of production must be reproduced and so the conditions of reproduction must be compatible or 'articulate'. Within the articulation one mode of production normally dominates the other and rather than being parallel the different modes of production constitute a hierarchical whole characterized by specific relations of dominance and determination between all levels of all modes of production.

It is these Althussurian concepts that provide much of the conceptual framework for the Marxist literature on the political economy of labour migration. Studies in this area can be divided into two broad categories - those concerned with the actual migration process, and those concerned with the position of migrant workers in the economy. This is not to argue that the two areas are mutually exclusive. There is clearly considerable overlap in some cases; for example Gibson (1983) very successfully combines an analysis of the political economy of Pacific Island migration to New Zealand with an analysis of the role of Pacific Island migrants in the New Zealand labour market.

In the next two parts of this section of Chapter two the broad issues raised in each of these categories of study are reviewed. While the substantive topic of this thesis, a consideration of the position of Samoan women in the New Zealand labour force, clearly falls into the second category, it is necessary to examine the

actual migration process in order to establish the context in which this labour force participation occurs. More recent developments within the political economy literature are considered in the final part of this section.

2.1.1 International Labour Migration

The first group of studies, those concerned with the migration process, have extensively analysed the conditions under which labour migration occurs. These studies distinguish between those aspects of migration which are general to all population movements, and those aspects of migration which are specific to certain stages in capitalist development (Nikolinakos 1975, Carchedi 1979, Sassen-Koob 1981, Cohen 1987, Sassen 1988).

It is argued that the development of the capitalist mode of production has always involved labour migration because the accumulation of capital involves the concentration of production and, as a result, geographic concentrations of labour. As Miles (1984:78) notes, 'Marx's law of accumulation presumes a process of labour migration.' However, while the geographic concentration of labour has always accompanied capital accumulation, during different phases of capitalist development, capital has found different labour reserves in different places and through different mechanisms. Examples of aspects of labour migration specific to certain phases in capitalist development include those of the Atlantic slave trade, the use of indentured labour in European colonies, and rural to urban migration in developed countries (Cohen 1987).

In the present phase of capitalist development, which has seen the rise of an international capitalist economy and capital accumulation on a global scale, the main labour reserves are in the underdeveloped countries of the capitalist periphery. The existence of these labour reserves is seen as a consequence of the historical expansion of the capitalist mode of production beyond the boundaries of Western Europe. The result of this process was, on one hand, the disintegration or subordination of pre-capitalist modes of production and the concomitant creation of surplus labour pools in underdeveloped countries, and on the other hand capitalist development and expansion and the production of labour shortages in the developed countries (Amin 1974, Wallerstein 1974).

Thus in this style of analysis, contemporary labour migration is viewed as a structural feature of an international capitalist economy which is characterized by geographically uneven development between regions and countries. This development occurs across national boundaries as well as within them. In this case the focus is on labour migration as an international processs in the sense that the migrants can enter productive relations in different countries to those in which they were born. Thus the direction and membership of international migrant streams is an indication of relations between different social formations, and potentially, different modes of production (Miles 1987).

Contemporary international labour migration initially took two forms; colonial and proximate (Phizacklea and Miles 1980). Examples of colonial labour migrations include those between the West Indies and Britain, Algeria and France, the Cook Islands and New Zealand. An example of a proximate labour migration is that between Southern European countries such as Turkey and Greece and wealthier European countries such as West Germany. Although the means and conditions of recruitment differ significantly in each case, as does the role of the state, in both colonial and proximate labour migrations there is a relationship between the countries characterized by economic domination/dependence (Miles 1987).

The structural relationship between the countries needs to be seen from the perspective of both dependent and dominant formations. As far as the dependent formation is concerned, the process of incorporation into the international capitalist economy and decomposition of the pre-capitalist mode of production is the cause of labour migration. Oscillating, temporary, contractual and seasonal labour migrations are all examples of some form of transaction between the capitalist mode of production and the pre-capitalist productive sector. In general, as the capitalist mode of production becomes more dominant, the tendency towards more permanent migration increases (Cohen 1987).

2.1.2 Migrants in the Labour Force of Developed Countries

When consideration is given to the role of migrant workers in the dominant countries, the focus is clearly that of the second category of studies; those

concerned with the position of migrants in the economy. Writers within the political economy school working in this area argue that the specificity of labour migration is not just geographical movement because all labour is required to be mobile at one scale or another. There are also other qualities associated with migrant labour that warrants its examination as a separate phenomenon. It is the roles these individuals play within the broad contours of capitalist development which are significant, in particular the cheapness of migrant labour and its vulnerability to political control.

It is argued in the political economy literature that the use of migrant labour offers a number of economic advantages to the receiving country. Firstly, foreign workers demand fewer services than indigenous workers. Migrants usually occupy vacant workplaces and housing and so their presence does not require additional expenditure by either government or private capital. This is especially true in the initial stages of migration (Bohning 1972, Kindleberger 1967).

Secondly, migrant workers can be repatriated when their labour is no longer needed or when their physical or mental health prevents them from working. Therefore the costs associated with unemployment, workers disability or medical care can be exported, as can social discontent (Freeman 1979). Again these factors are most relevant in the early stages of migration. The issue is complicated by the presence of children born to foreign workers and the numbers of those workers who become more or less permanently settled (Rist 1978, Castles et al 1984).

Thirdly, there is the idea that migrant labour is a labour supply system particularly suited to the needs of firms using labour intensive production methods. The use of migrant labour reduces the cost for the employer both directly through lower wages and indirectly through lower costs for the organization of production. For example, firms can derive additional benefits from labour supply flexibility, night-shifts and ease of hiring and firing. Further, status as foreigners, lack of familiarity with union politics and language difficulties all make migrants unusually dependent on their employers (Sassen Koob 1981, Sassen 1988).

There is a considerable literature which takes up this point and explores empirically the reproduction of a cheap migrant labour force for use in capitalist production. Whatever the theoretical framework used, there is general agreement that the jobs migrants undertake tend to be unskilled, unpleasant and low paid. However different writers have conceptualised these characteristics in different ways. In this thesis the Marxian concept of the reserve army of labour is used.(3)

2.1.3 The Reserve Army of Labour

Marx's definition of the reserve army of labour was quite explicit. It was 'a population that is in excess as regards the average needs of capital for self expansion' (Marx 1976:784). His definition of the members of this reserve was that 'every worker has to be classed in this category when he (sic) is unemployed or partially employed' (Marx 1976:794). This reserve army formed two functions for capital. Firstly it constituted an ever ready supply of human material which could be exploited when the market expanded, and secondly it pressed on the army of active workers and held the claims of the latter in check. He speaks of the condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other portion (Marx 1976:789).

While Marx's discussion was conducted mainly at an abstract level he did offer some concrete categories of this reserve, although without saying which type of workers may fall into each category. He claimed that the industrial reserve could take one of three forms. The first of these was the floating reserve army of labour 'whereby workers are sometimes repelled and sometimes attracted into the centres of modern industry.' The second category was the stagnant reserve army of labour 'comprising of labourers who are regularly unemployed, whose members are recruited from the supernumary forces of modern industry and agriculture'. The final category was the latent reserve army of labour 'which exists among the agricultural population which is displaced by the capitalist penetration of agriculture' (Marx 1976:794-9).

In the late 1960s the concept of the reserve army of labour was resurrected by contemporary Marxist commentators. It was argued that capitalism rendered the reserve army invisible by constituting it out of foreign migrants and women who

would return home when not needed. These writers were therefore suggesting that migrant labour and female labour form a 'mobile fluctuating labour force which can be moved from factory to factory or branch to branch as required ... and which can be thrown out of work as required' (Castles and Kosack 1973:9).

In sum, the use of migrant labour in developed countries reflected a particular stage in the development of the capitalist mode of production. A long period of capitalist expansion made it necessary to transcend the boundaries of national labour markets in order to obtain sufficent people to fill a demand for cheap, unskilled workers. This phase has been referred to as the phase of 'mass labour migration' (Castles 1984 et al).

2.1.4 The New International Division of Labour

More recent work within the political economy school is also relevant in that it draws attention to contemporary developments within the global capitalist economy and the implications of these developments for international labour migration. It is important to realise that much of the literature discussed so far deals with labour market structures characteristic of the 'long wave of capitalist expansion' (Mandel 1975). In the thirty years following the end of the Second World War conditions of full employment existed in most developed countries. This situation ended with the onset of recession in the mid 1970s which generated a drastic slowdown in productivity growth, declining industrial employment, stagnating industrial output, and sharply rising unit labour costs in the economies of almost all advanced capitalist countries (Armstrong et al 1984).

Economic restructuring follows crisis. It involves restoring profitable conditions for capital accumulation and harmonizing the relationship between production, distribution and exchange. There is intensified competition between capitalists and increased concentration through mergers and takeovers. This gives rise to significant structural changes in national economies. The changes are uneven and contradictory, with some sections of industry being run down and others opened up as capitalists attempt to re-establish or create conditions under which profitable accumulation is again possible.

One of the characteristics of the current phase of economic restructuring has been another change in the structure of employment globally through the relocation of labour intensive production processes from high waged developed countries to the Newly Industrializing Countries of the Third World where labour is plentiful, wages low, and environmental controls minimal.

This change is usually referred to as the 'new international division of labour.' The relocation of production applies not only to the traditionally labour intensive industries such as clothing and textiles, but also to specific stages of industrial production in component manufacture and assembly in industries such as engineering, optics, electrical goods and electronics. Relocation has been enhanced by technological innovation so that the labour intensive aspects of the production of relatively complex products can be carried out in countries providing cheap and unskilled or semi-skilled labour.

The result has been a qualitatively new stage in capital accumulation. Production has become a global process in which advanced industrial economies have been progressively divested of more labour intensive manufacturing processes. Thus the new international division of labour which has emerged has seen routine industrial activity increasingly join primary production as a peripheral activity, while core regions specialize in high level service activities such as research and development (Frobel et al 1980, Massey 1984, Britton 1989).

Among the effects of the restructuring of capital on a global level has been a major change in the direction of international labour migrations. No longer are the major labour flows colonial or proximate. New flows have been generated by accelerated industrialization in developing countries; in particular to the countries of the Middle East and OPEC where oil revenues allowed the initiation of ambitious development plans (Cohen 1987, Sassen 1988). New international labour migrations have also arisen in developed countries. 'Global cities' have drawn highly skilled migrants from all over the world. The migrations of personnel within the framework of international governmental organisations such as the UNO, IMF and OECD are similar in character in that they also involve the temporary migration of highly skilled people (Castles 1989, Sassen 1988).

The changes associated with the new international division of labour have also had a major impact on the conditions under which the previous wave of migrants are incorporated into the labour forces of developed countries. Employment in manufacturing is declining as labour intensive industries are relocated. Further, the character of work in those sectors not relocated is changing dramatically as a result of new production technologies and new forms of divisions of labour (Castles et al 1984). These changes have manifested themselves in exceptionally high levels of unemployment. Because these migrant workers have tended to be employed in those parts of the labour intensive industries hardest hit by this economic restructuring it is to be expected that the conditions under which such workers participate in the labour force will have changed dramatically.

At the same time the demographic composition of these migrant populations has changed, the trend being away from a population made up of single people in the working age groups towards a population comprising of men, women and children arranged in family groups. Although the end of the 'long wave of capitalist expansion' was marked by attempts in developed countries to halt the recruitment of unskilled migrant workers, and further efforts have been made to export part of the unemployment resulting from economic restructuring by inducing migrant workers to return home, these efforts have only been partially successful because of this trend towards family formation (Castles 1986, Miles 1986). In many cases large numbers of migrants have remained in the developed countries. As the migration process has matured the migrants who have remained have become a more permanent part of the population. Labour migration has evolved into another phase and new ethnic minorities are now emerging from the previous waves of labour migration in advanced capitalist countries (Castles 1989, Cohen 1987, Heisler 1986, Miles 1986, Sassen 1988).

2.2 The Sexual Division of Labour

The second body of literature of relevance to this thesis is that which deals with socialist-feminist theories of women and work. By and large geographers have not paid a great deal of attention to this literature, although in other disciplines the topic has received considerable attention. This has been the case particularly over more recent years as the role of women in paid employment has received

closer scrutiny.

The crucial point to emerge from the socialist-feminist literature is the suggestion that the participation of women in the waged labour force is somehow determined by the sexual division of labour, that is, by the position of women in reproductive(4) and productive work as a whole. As the concept of the sexual division of labour has been the subject of much debate within feminist theory it is useful to consider precisely what is meant by this term.

There is a question of definition which must be clarified at the outset of this discussion. Feminist writers distinguish between the biological category of 'sex' and the socially constructed category of 'gender'. While the established phrase is the 'sexual division of labour', more strictly the concept refers to a division of labour along the lines of gender. The division of labour between men and women cannot be deduced simply from the differences between the biological sexes (Mackintosh 1983, WIBG 1984).

The existence of a sexual division of labour can be easily illustrated. In all societies, both capitalist and non-capitalist, there are some tasks that are primarily allocated to women and others that are primarily allocated to men. In pre-capitalist societies such as those of 'hunter-gatherers', big game hunting and warfare are largely the preserve of men. These activities are generally accorded higher status than those associated with the gathering of vegetables, which is predominantly the preserve of women (Mies 1986). In capitalist societies the sexual division of labour is particularly evident when domestic labour, such as childcare and household tasks, is considered. This work is almost universally the responsibility of women. It is socially undervalued and often sharply restricts women's ability to participate in other activities.

A sexual division of labour is evident not only in the division between home and workplace which is characteristic of capitalism but also in the allocation of tasks within each sphere. Thus, for example, when both men and women are engaged in wage labour, women workers tend to be segregated into certain industrial sectors, and into certain occupations within those sectors. Typically women

occupy positions which are defined as less skilled, low in the hierarchy of authority and have relatively poor conditions of work.

Clearly then, the sexual division of labour is more than an allocation of activities. It also implies a power relationship between the sexes in which women are subordinate to men. Feminists have long been interested in the idea that the sexual division of labour in capitalist society appears to both embody and perpetuate female subordination. Thus they have argued that to understand the sexual division of labour is crucial to any attempt to understand the position of women as a whole.

2.2.1 Socialist-Feminist Theory

While the debate is far from resolved it is useful to discuss the different attempts which have been made by socialist-feminist theorists to explain why the sexual division of labour exists. Initially the debate focused on the benefits which women's work brings to capital. The assumption was that if it could be shown that capital benefits from the sexual division of labour, and the subordination of women which it implies, this would go at least part of the way to explaining why it should exist (Mackintosh 1983).

In these early discussions it was argued that because of the existence of a sexual division of labour, capital is able to extract greater profits from the workforce than would be otherwise avaliable. This analysis was developed to explain the work done by women outside the waged labour force, such as unpaid work within the home. It was argued that this domestic work was of benefit to capital because it raised the standard of the working class above that which could be provided by the wage alone, and also ensured the care and socialization of the children who would subsequently become members of the labour force. That is, it was argued that the unpaid domestic role of women was vital for the maintenance of capitalism as it ensured the reproduction of the working class and enabled capitalists to pay a lower wage to workers than would otherwise be the case (Barrett and McIntosh 1980, Gardiner 1975, McIntosh 1978, Molyneaux 1979).

A similar argument was developed to explain work done by women in the sphere

of wage labour. It was claimed that women had a distinctive position as cheap unskilled workers who were easily disposed of should their labour no longer be required. Women therefore formed the cheapest and most vulnerable part of the wage labour force and so were open to a high degree of economic exploitation. Both the reserve army of labour conceptualization from Marx's writings on waged work and dual labour market theories were used in these discussions (Barron and Norris 1976, Beechey 1977, Bruegel 1979, Hill 1979, Humphries 1983, Power 1983).

While these analyses provide a useful starting point for an analysis of the sexual division of labour, they are not entirely satisfactory. They clearly demonstrate that women's work, both waged and unwaged, is of benefit to capital but they fail to explain why it should be women, rather than men, who perform these tasks. Thus in order to explain the existence of a sexual division of labour it is necessary to move beyond an explanation which looks only at the benefits of women's work to capital (Anthias 1980, Kuhn and Wolpe 1978). The need for additional explanation is reinforced by the observation that some form of the sexual division of labour predated the spread of capitalism in virtually all countries. If the sexual division of labour, and the subordination of women which it implies, predate capitalism then clearly its existence cannot be explained solely in terms of the inherent logic of the capitalist system.

These criticisms have resulted in a substantial reformulation in the theoretical debates about women's work. One of the most crucial developments has been the acknowledgement by many socialist-feminist theorists that the existence of the sexual division of labour cannot be satisfactorially explained within the context of a discussion solely about capitalism. This has lead to an attempt to incorporate the concept of 'patriarchy' into theoretical analysis of the sexual division of labour (Eisenstein 1979, Hartmann 1979, McDonough and Harrison 1978).

The concept of patriarchy, which has been developed in feminist writings, is not a single or simple concept, but has a variety of meanings. At the most general level the concept has been used to refer to male domination and the power relationships by which men dominate women (Millet 1977). Attempts to locate the

basis of these power relationships have proved highly contentious, however it would appear that they are connected with the differential involvement of women and men in human reproduction, and the social relations which immediately govern this process (Firestone 1979, Mackintosh 1981, Roper 1988, Walby 1986). By introducing this concept of patriarchy into the analysis of sexual division of labour it was convincingly argued that it is now possible to take into account the structures of male domination and female subordination which were otherwise missing from the earlier analyses (Hartmann 1979).

The difficulty in this approach is how to avoid developing a form of analysis in which different spheres of society are allocated to either capitalist or patriarchal relations. For example some writers confine patriarchy to reproductive activities and capitalism to productive activities (Beneria 1979, O'Brien 1981, Young 1980). Others confine patriarchy to the general area of ideology, culture and sexuality and capitalism to the economy (Kuhn 1978, Mitchell 1975). In doing this these writers make an arbitrary and unsustainable distinction between the spheres of influence of both capitalism and patriarchy. More useful is an analysis which sees patriarchal and capitalist relations as a set of independent yet interacting social structures articulating at all levels and in all spheres of society (Walby 1986).

Thus the specific sexual division of labour which characterises capitalist societies is the result of the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy. A sexual division of labour exists in all societies (both capitalist and non-capitalist) because of the unequal power relationship between men and women. As societies undergo economic change as a result of capitalist development, the nature of work changes and so does the division of tasks between men and women. The way in which this occurs is geographically and historically specific and is linked to the circumstances of each social formation. This redefinition of the sexual division of labour is occuring constantly in the course of social practice (Phillips and Taylor 1980).

At the most fundamental level the form of the sexual division of labour which results from capitalist development sees women being defined primarily as domestic workers and childrearers. Because their participation in paid work is

seen as secondary this can be used to justify the creation of whole sectors of low paid and low skilled 'womens work' in the labour market (Coyle 1982, Cockburn 1983, Game and Pringle 1983). Thus the sexual division of labour is a fundamental aspect of both society as a whole, and the structuring of the labour market. Clearly the concept of the sexual division of labour has the potential to be of use in a discussion of the position of migrant women in the waged labour force of an advanced capitalist economy.

2.3 Migrant Women

Previous attempts to theorize the position of migrant women are usefully reviewed by Morokvasic (1983, 1984). As she points out, most of the studies in this area have explained female migration in terms of individual motives and personal drives. However there have been a few attempts to interpret female migration in terms of structural factors and social forces. Much of the discussion has centered around concepts such as 'double-negative' (Boyd 1980), 'doubly disadvantaged' (Almquist and Wherle-Einhorn 1978, Kats 1982), or 'a triple oppression as worker, as migrant and as woman' (Kosack 1976). Unfortunately most such analyses have tended to operate on a fairly superficial level and have not attempted to develop theoretically the links between the different concepts through a discussion of the sexual division of labour.

An exception to this criticism, and one of the most sophisticated analyses, is the work of Phizacklea (1982, 1983). Her research is concerned the position of West Indian women in the British labour market. She argues that these women constitute a highly attractive form of labour power to capital and that the migrant woman's role as 'an actual or potential domestic labourer is used ideologically (in the form of sexism) to determine her structurally subordinate position as a wage labourer' (1982:9). She therefore acknowledges that the subordinate position of migrant women in the labour force is somehow related to their position in the sexual division of labour as a whole. Her analysis provides a useful indication of the way in which a more comprehensive theory relating to the position of migrant women in the waged labour force of an advanced capitalist economy could be developed. This would involve utilizing the concept of the sexual division of labour in conjunction with ideas derived from the political economy literature on

labour migration.

2.4 Towards a Theoretical Reformulation

The empirical work of this thesis should be seen as an attempt to move beyond the confines of present analyses toward the construction of an analysis which better reflects the variety of factors which determine the position of migrant and minority women in an advanced capitalist economy.

Such an analysis would acknowledge that the categories of 'migrant women' and 'minority women' are the result of geographically uneven capitalist development on a global scale. Therefore the discussion must begin with a consideration of the specific nature of capitalist development in both Western Samoa and New Zealand in order to demonstrate the way in which the development of the capitalist mode of production in these social formations has resulted in distinctive phases of labour migration.

The feminist literature suggests that the experiences of migrant women will be qualitatively different to that of migrant men. By incorporating a discussion about the way in which capitalist development has impacted upon the sexual division of labour it will be possible to gain a more comprehensive picture of how the experience of women in the migration process is structured.

In the next stage of the analysis it is necessary to consider the position which Samoan women occupy in the New Zealand labour market. The political economy approach suggests that migrant workers occupy a subordinate position in the economic structure of advanced capitalist economies. This raises the question as to whether the second generation will fill the same part of the structure as their parents. The changing nature of production and employment, occuring as a result of the impact of economic restructuring, is also clearly relevant. Once again, by incorporating a discussion about the sexual division of labour into this analysis explanation will be considerably enhanced.

Chapter Three

From Mass Labour Migration to Permanent Settlement

In this chapter the historical and geographical contexts within which labour migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand has occured are examined in order to interpret this migration in terms of both structural factors and social forces. In order to develop this analysis it is necessary to consider the changes resulting from capitalist development in both the Western Samoan and New Zealand economies. These changes create the necessary preconditions for migration and explain the distinctive phases of labour migration.

Particular attention will be focused on the implications of these changes for the sexual division of labour. In the previous chapter it was demonstrated how the ongoing redefinition of the sexual division of labour is a result of the articulation of both capitalism and patriarchy. In order to analyze the specific experience of Samoan women during labour migration both of these forces should be taken into consideration.

3.1 Pre-Capitalist Samoa

Western Samoa consists of two large islands (Upolu and Savai'i) of fairly recent volcanic origin on which the majority of the population live, and four very small islands, only three of which (Apolima, Manono and Nu'utele) are populated (Figure 3.1). Prior to capitalist intervention Samoa had an agricultural economy in which the extended family unit, the aiga, accounted for the greatest part of production. The lands and activities of the aiga were controlled by an elected family head, the matai, who was usually male, although occasionally women were awarded a matai title. The matai collectively formed a council, or fono, which made decisions about matters of concern to the villagers.

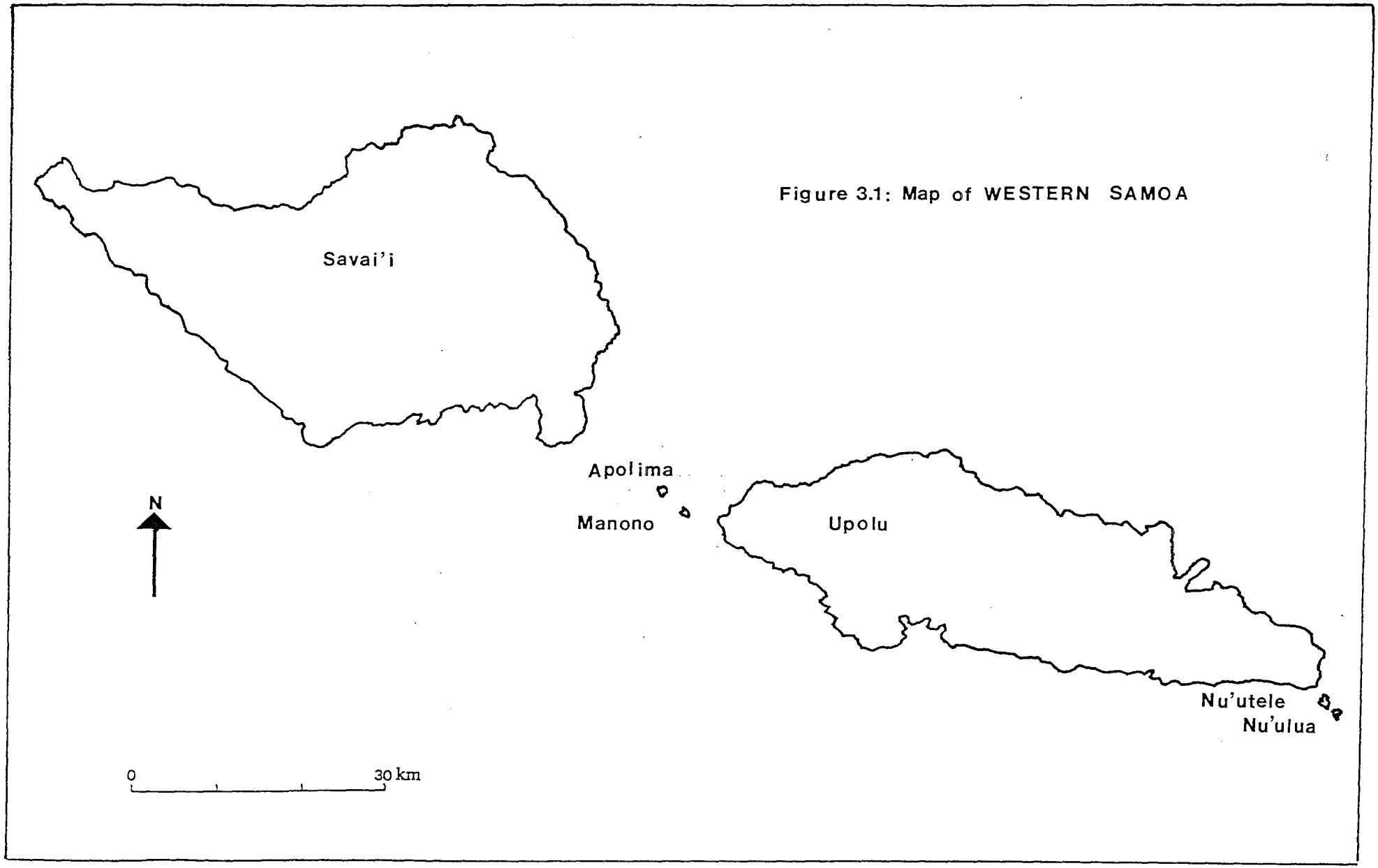


Figure 3.1: Map of WESTERN SAMOA

Production was based on subsistence agriculture, with the cultivation of taro, coconuts, and bananas together with other root crops being the main activities. There was also some small scale fishing (Connell 1983). There was a well marked division of labour by sex. In agricultural production the men were responsible for clearing and planting, while the women did the weeding and harvest activities. The women also had responsibility for tasks such as reef fishing, childcare and indoor cooking while the men engaged in activities such as ocean fishing, animal husbandry and outdoor cooking. In reality men and women often shared these tasks. However there remained an idealized model of the proper sexual division of labour (Schoeffel 1983). There was also a specific sexual division of labour in the production of crafts, which were used as both essential use items and exchange valuables (Pitt 1970). The women manufactured mats, tapa and other domestic items, and men built houses and did other kinds of carpentry.

It is interesting to note that the division of labour into male and female spheres of interest did not reflect the distinction between husband and wife but rather that between brother and sister (Schoeffel 1983). Age was also an important factor in that while children helped their parents in household tasks they were not given any specific responsibilities until they reached young adulthood. Once they reached this age, the young adults of both sexes were generally assigned the most strenuous tasks.

Clearly then, in pre-capitalist Samoan society the sexual division of labour determined women's social and economic roles. Significantly, although the productive roles of men and women were seen as complementary, the contribution of men to the household economy was rated more highly than that of the women (Hetler and Khoo 1987, Schoeffel 1979). Also Samoan women were excluded from the formal decision making process. While traditionally women did have some power, this was associated with the transmission of 'sacred spiritual essence' and so was exercised in a different fashion to that of the men (Schoeffel 1979).

Thus the pre-capitalist sexual division of labour was more than an allocation of

activities, it also implied a power relationship between the sexes. Women were relegated to the less prestigious aspects of family and communal life, even though at this time their contribution to production was balanced by men's tasks and their position in society was personally, socially and economically secure. Further, despite the relatively high degree of economic autonomy possessed by these women, they were granted only peripheral participation in political affairs (Schoeffel 1983).

3.2 The Impact of Capitalist Development

Samoa was first exposed to the effects of capitalism with the establishment of an export enclave at Apia in the mid nineteenth century. Although the consequences of German, British, American and finally New Zealand's colonial rule were nowhere near as damaging as in other parts of the world, including other parts of the Pacific, they did bring about a number of changes in the pre-capitalist economy (Davidson 1967, Gilson 1970, Lockwood 1971, Pitt 1970).

Firstly, trade with Europeans increased. This resulted in the introduction of imported goods to replace locally produced crafts for which the traditional process of manufacture was laborious and tedious. Gradually imported goods also came to be preferred over traditional items as exchange valuables for ceremonial use (Pitt 1970). Purchase of these new goods necessitated participation in the capitalist sector of the economy, usually through cash cropping. The first cash crops were grown to provide food for visiting ships. However by the time missionaries arrived in the 1830s there was a strong demand in Europe for coconut oil. In the 1860s it became possible to ship copra to Europe to meet this demand and as a result copra became a major export crop. By the late nineteenth century the growth of the copra trade had resulted in many Europeans establishing plantations in Samoa (Pitt 1970, Pitt and MacPherson 1974).

There was little diversification in subsequent years; agricultural production came to be dominated by the growing of copra and cocoa for export and the more extensive production of taro and bananas for both export and domestic markets (Connell 1983). These crops were commodities whose prices followed the cycles of the world market, therefore increasingly the Samoan economy as a whole

followed the rhythm of the world capitalist economy. However, despite the importance of cash cropping, subsistence production under the direction of the matai remained significant. As a result most people were able to retreat into subsistence agriculture when prices dropped too low, but to a growing degree more and more Samoans were coming to desire and depend on imported goods.

There was a brief boom in the export economy in the 1950s as a result of a rise in world market prices. However during the 1960s agricultural production and incomes in Western Samoa declined sharply as a result of an unfortunate combination of bad weather, plant disease and pests, and poor world market prices. The alternative form of participation in the capitalist sector of the economy through wage labour was limited. The vast majority of the 'economically active' population outside of agriculture was involved in the tertiary sector in Apia; the government, wholesaling and retailing, and community, social and personal services. Many jobs were casual, and even when regular work was available it tended to pay poorly and depend on the viability of a particular business. Official figures serve to emphasise the point. As late as 1979, there were fewer than 20,000 paid jobs for a potential adult labour force of 66,750 (MacPherson 1985). As a result young men and women were encouraged by their families to migrate in order to find wage labour elsewhere, the hope being that migration would supply sufficient remittances to compensate for the loss of their labour and services (Shankman 1976).

By this time the effects of the geographically uneven development of capitalism were plainly evident. Western Samoa, through a process of slow economic decline over the course of a century, had passed from a state of 'undevelopment' to a state of 'underdevelopment', relative to the larger global economy into which it was incorporated. Despite political independence in 1962, Western Samoa continued to have little control over most of the decisions which affected its economy, a situation which has continued until the present (Ala'ilima and Ala'ilima 1965, Pirie and Barrett 1962, Shankman 1976).

3.2.1 Capitalist Development and the Sexual Division of Labour

It is important to realise that the these changes associated with the development of

capitalism in Western Samoa did not affect men and women in the same way. Most significantly they had implications for the sexual division of labour. The already existing power relationship between men and women was altered and deepened. This was partly due to a change in the importance of women's productive activities as the pre-capitalist manufacturing role of the women was seriously eroded by the introduction of the imported goods; cotton replaced barkcloth, tin and then later plastic replaced the coconut shell. At the same time the introduction of new agricultural techniques was to the advantage of the men. It is relevant to note that the manufacture of coconut oil prior to the innovation of shipping dried copra had been the women's activity. Once copra became a major commercial product, the men increasingly took over, thus restricting the women's access to an important source of cash income (Schoeffel 1977). The result has been; 'As the female productive sphere has declined, the male sphere of agriculture has expanded with a variety of new crops and techniques primarily directed at male producers. One result of these changes has been a shift in women's work from an autonomous and prestigious domain to a secondary, supplementary and less prestiguous one' (Schoeffel 1973:10).

Further, there was the impact of Christianity, which is based on a model which emphasizes the division between husband and wife. As was noted earlier the opposition of roles in pre-capitalist Samoa was based on a division between brother and sister so one effect of missionary activity was to weaken the position of Samoan women as sisters and promote their roles as wives. The model of the pastor and his wife was established in the village as an example of how men and women should live. The idea was that Samoan families should live as Europeans did, with the father as the producer and the mother as the home maker. An underlying assumption of this model was that women have only informal authority in the domestic sphere while more importance was attached to the men. They were assumed to hold formal authority and to belong properly to the political sphere of life (Hetler and Khoo 1987).

Clearly then one of the results of the particular form of capitalist intervention which took place in Western Samoa was to reinforce and extend the existing gender inequality, and both material and ideological factors attributed to the specific form

taken by the sexual division of labour in the face of economic change. Women have been locked more firmly into their domestic and reproductive roles and although they maintain a role in production, their activities in this sphere are regarded as less important than the activities performed by the men.

Therefore, while capitalist development and monetization of the Samoan economy has meant that both men and women have been forced to search for wage labour, the crucial point is that men and women join this search along different lines, which derive from a contrasting definition of their position in the sexual division of labour. One of the immediate results of this is that those women who have become involved in the capitalist sector of the Samoan economy have tended to enter paid work in those areas of the labour market defined as 'women's work'; for example, education, secretarial and clerical work, and nursing. This idea will be explored further in Chapter six when the position of Samoan women in the New Zealand labour force is considered.

In sum, in response to the global spread of capitalism the economy of Samoa went through a process of dissolution and change. Monetization of the local economy, the modernization of agriculture, the introduction of factory produced goods for both use and exchange, and the destruction of any non-agricultural domestic manufacturing have all contributed to the demise of traditional forms of production. While the degraded subsistence sector continues to play an important role in the reproduction of the society, and 80 per cent of Western Samoa's land is still held under customary tenure, this sector has, in effect, been subsumed by the capitalist mode of production. Because there are limited opportunities for wage employment in Western Samoa, the entire economy has become dependent on wage labour opportunities in New Zealand and elsewhere (Bedford 1984, Shankman 1976). Migration from Western Samoa, for both men and women, is therefore intimately related to the perceived lack of economic opportunities in their own country. As such, this labour migration is an integral part of the geographically uneven development of capitalism.

It should also be clear that part of the explanation for the distinctive experience of Samoan women migrants lies in the nature of the sexual division of labour in their

country. While Samoan women remain participants in productive activity, their importance in this sphere of activity declined under the impact of capitalist development. Further their participation in productive activities did not imply equal status with men. Nor did it imply economic independence as the women's economic goals were often subsumed within the overall goals of household and family. The result is that while both men and women enter into the migration process, they do so as gendered beings. As such, the migration experience of men and women is fundamentally different.

3.3 Post War Capitalist Development in New Zealand

In the period following the Second World War developed countries experienced a 'long wave of capitalist expansion' (Mandel 1975). There was a rapid and sustained development of production; world capitalist output doubled in the period from 1952 to 1962 alone (Castles et al 1984). The international dimensions of this development affected New Zealand in a specific way because of the country's position in the structure of world production and trade. Prior to 1945 the development of capitalism in New Zealand had been from the basis of pastoralism. The development of an industrial sector in New Zealand had been constrained by the interests of the British ruling class which defined the role of New Zealand as a supplier of certain foodstuffs in order to cheapen the costs of the reproduction of its own working class. It was not until World War Two when the disruption in world trade necessitated an increase in domestic industrial production that sustained industrial development was able to take place (Jesson 1987, Britton 1989).

Major efforts were made by both the state and private enterprise to expand and diversify the economic base of the nation during this period to reduce total dependence on the agricultural sector, which was subject to the vagaries of the international agricultural commodity market. Tarrifs and import licences were imposed to protect the growth of import substitution industries (Gibson 1983).

The impact of protection was pronounced. A major result was a dramatic growth in manufacturing, in particular vehicle assembly, processing of primary products (e.g freezing works, canning factories, newsprint and carpet manufacture) and the

production of certain consumer durables. The expansion of this sector necessitated an absolute and relative increase in the size of the work force (Macrae 1979).

The need for labour during this period was not only the result of quantitative expansion, but also of a change in the form of production. There was increasing use of mass production techniques such as assembly line production, shift work and piece work. This form of growth meant not only an increase in the number of workers needed, but also the deskilling of large sections of the labour force. The new jobs were often dirty, monotonous, unhealthy and unpleasant. In a situation of expanding employment opportunities, sections of the indigenous(5) working class were able to refuse to do such jobs and move into skilled, supervisory and white collar positions.

Satisfaction of the growing demand for labour was realised predominantly by the means of labour migration, although at the same time large numbers of married women also entered the labour force. This migration took three forms. Firstly there was rural to urban migration by Maori. Secondly there was international migration from certain Pacific Islands, including Western Samoa, which had been in colonial relationships with New Zealand earlier in the twentieth century. Thirdly there was migration from Western Europe in order to expand the skilled workforce. There was a clear correspondence between the type of jobs available in the New Zealand economy generally and the composition of these migration streams. Thus the presence of migrant labour in New Zealand must be seen in relation to the demand for labour in certain sectors of the economy.

3.4 From Mass Labour Migration to Family Formation

Migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand was thus the double sided result of the geographically uneven development of capitalism. This has brought about on the one hand the subordination of the precapitalist mode of production in Western Samoa and the creation of a surplus labour pool, and on the other hand capitalist development and expansion and the production of labour shortages in New Zealand.

The first phase of mass labour migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand was made up of young, single men and women and occured in response to the increased demand for unskilled labour outlined above. A small population of Samoans had been long established in New Zealand. This group constituted the basis for a classic chain migration and by means of informal channels of communication migration flows responded precisely to the prevailing economic circumstances (Finn 1973). Between 1947 and 1962 migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand was determined by an essentially *laissez faire* policy. While Samoans seeking employment and the right to residence in New Zealand technically required official approval, they experienced little difficulty getting into and remaining in New Zealand. Thus during the years immediately following the Second World War, migration occured with little or no intervention from the state. The dominant regulating mechanism was the level of demand for labour; the New Zealand economy needed labour, and Western Samoa was perceived as having a labour surplus and so was a convenient and cheap labour reserve for industrial expansion in post-war New Zealand (Bedford 1984, Bedford and Gibson 1986, Connell 1983).

When Western Samoa obtained political independence in 1962, the relationship between the two countries was continued through a Treaty of Friendship. The provisions of the Treaty left the population of Samoa with access to New Zealand under two different legal arrangements. Samoans could enter New Zealand on three month visitors' permits which were granted to all Pacific Islanders able to demonstrate possession of sufficent money for a return fare and evidence of accomodation and maintenance for their visit. In addition, Samoans were allowed entry to New Zealand on six month temporary permits, one requirement being that the applicants had a guarantee of employment in New Zealand. These permits were subsequently renewed six monthly until after five years when the holder became eligable for permanant residence. It was within this legal framework that large scale labour migration to New Zealand by Samoans began to take place (Table 3.1).

Pitt and MacPherson (1974) claim that in the early post war period most migrants were men who were brought to New Zealand to do specific jobs. However in the

Table 3.1: The Samoan Descent Population in New Zealand

Census Year	Number (a)
1936	362
1945	716
1951	1 336
1956	3 740
1961	6 481
1966	11 842
1971	19 540
1976	27 876
1981	42 450
1986	66 249

(a)See Bedford and Pool (1984) for a review of the definitional problems associated with the enumeration of Pacific Island Polynesians in the New Zealand censuses.

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1936-1986

years from 1961 to 1966 that inital dominance of men in the migration flow was countered by the migration of large numbers of women, and by 1966 there were actually more women than men in the Samoan population resident in New Zealand (Finn 1973). In the years that followed there was a relative balance in the sex ratio of migration and in general women emigrated at the same rate as men.

It has already been shown how the specific form of the sexual division of labour in Samoa meant that both men and women were avaliable to participate in migration. The explanation for the early changes in the sex ratios in these migrant flows can be found in an assessment of the opportunities avaliable for Samoan workers in the New Zealand economy. The early reversal of the original pattern was due to the recognition of a demand for unskilled female labour in New Zealand (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Occupational Distribution
Samoan Women in New Zealand 1945 and 1956

	1945	1956
Agriculture	2	4
Manufacturing	58	214
Construction	2	1
Transport	-	16
Commerce and Finance	10	42
Services	40	137
Not Adequately Defined	1	8
Total	113	422

From: Fairbairn (1961)

Many light industries, particularly textile manufacturing and food processing, which have traditionally employed large proportions of women had a high demand for labour during the immediate post-war period. In fact some of these firms facilitated the migration of a great many women by paying their fares to New Zealand. In return the women were obliged to work for the firms for several years (Fairbairn 1961).

Samoan women were identified by employers as comprising a potential workforce which was flexible, undemanding, and prepared to work hard. As a result they were increasingly incorporated into the labour market at the lower levels. Once the demand for female labour was recognized young women in particular were encouraged by their family to migrate because they were regarded as the most dependable source of remittances (Shankman 1976).

Usually the migration decision was made for the woman by her extended family. Furthermore such decisions were made in a cultural context in which there were strong obligations of family members to one another. In this context the migrant is expected to assist their parents and other members of the family through remittance of substantial proportions of their incomes. While both sons and daughters migrated, parents expected daughters to be more likely to remit money and aid in other ways as they tend to be seen as more obedient and less likely to spend money on themselves. The family control over the young women was maintained by sending them to live with older relatives who would supervise their conduct (Graves and Graves 1983, Graves 1984).

While there is no statistical information avaliable on the marital status of these early migrants it seems apparent that single migrants dominated the migration stream (Fairbairn 1961). A fair proportion of these migrants, both men and women, intended to stay for a few years only. Usually their intentions were to accumulate enough money to establish themselves and their extended families comfortably in Western Samoa. Often specific economic goals were cited as the reason for migration; to build a house for themselves, to raise capital for a business, or more generally to raise the standard of living above that to which they had become accustomed (Graves and Graves 1977).

Short term labour migration was also the expectation of those utilizing the migrants as a labour force. Even though many Samoans had the right to stay in New Zealand on a long term basis, it was assumed that the workers would ease temporary labour shortages, stay for a few years and then leave again. In fact, the more temporary the migrant, the more attractive they were to the employer. Temporary migrants are more focussed on short term money and large remittances, and consequently form a more pliable, eager and exploitable labour force (Gibson 1983).

Temporary migration was also the expectation of the government. It has long been recognized that one of the major advantages of a migrant labour system is that the receiving society does not bear the costs of the reproduction of that labour. Firstly, because the workers are migrants, the costs of rearing that worker have

been born by the country of origin. Secondly, because of the temporary nature of such migrations fexibility in hiring and firing is guaranteed and unemployment can be exported to the country of origin. Thus the provision of additional services, that would be necessary if the migration was on a more permanent basis, can be avoided (Buroway 1980, Castells 1975, Meillassoux 1981).

However many migrant workers found it impossible to earn and save enough in a short space of time to achieve their economic goals, and a second phase, a phase of family formation, got under way (Castles et al 1984). By the late 1960s the Samoan community in New Zealand consisted increasingly of family units. This was a result of not only marriages which occured here in New Zealand but also increasingly whole families had tended to emigrate either at the same time or over a short period of time. The distinction between 'dependent' female migrants, who move for family related reasons, and 'autonomous' female migration is frequently made in studies of female migration (Moroksavic 1984). However in this case such a distinction is misleading as the 'dependent' women, from the beginning, also found it necessary to take part in paid work in order to fill the economic aim of migration.

It should be noted that at this early stage family formation did not necessarily imply a decision to remain permanently, or even stay for a long time. It was observed that among the Samoan community that began to establish itself in New Zealand there was a strong sense of commitment to the community of origin. These sentiments were expressed in frequent contacts between migrant and parent communities and a constant flow of remittances to Samoa, plus the retention in New Zealand of Samoan language, values and social institutions (Pitt and MacPherson 1974, MacPherson 1975). However family formation effectively raises the migrant's cost of living and the financial burdens associated with having a family meant that saving for an eventual return home became more difficult. Also once the children were born and started going to school, the prospect of return receded further. In this respect Fairbairn (1961) was prophetic when he observed that the high ratio of Samoan women to men, and the number of marriages occuring, were factors which would prevent fufilment of the initial intention to return home.

Once family formation starts to take place the receiving society must also begin to shoulder the reproductory costs of the workers and their children. As an OECD report put it:

> 'Over time as migrants remain in host countries and the process takes on a more permanent nature, larger claims on the social infrastructure arise. The children of migrants must be schooled, and medical services, housing, welfare benefits and other publically financed services must be diverted to those whose characteristics and tastes become increasingly transformed in line with those of the host-country population. Increasing claims on public goods and services serve to reduce the net economic benefits accruing to the host country' (1979 quoted in Miles 1986).

Thus family formation undermines a major advantage of the migrant labour system. It makes the workers less mobile and harder to get rid of in a recession. Why then was it allowed to occur? One explanation lies in the sustained demand for labour which occured throughout the period which led to the desire for many employers to maintain a stable and reliable workforce, even if this could only be obtained by allowing workers to bring in dependents and settle for longer periods. However the main cause of family formation was simply that migrant workers were not prepared to accept a basic denial of their right to live with their husbands, wives and children. Once large scale migration became established family formation was inevitable (Castles 1984 et al).

During the early 1970s there was a rapid increase in the levels of migration from Samoa to New Zealand as the demand for unskilled labour in New Zealand continued and transport services to and from the islands improved (Bedford 1984). In 1971 job vacancies in manufacturing rose to 10,000 and for all occupations the number of unfilled positions was 21,000 (Farmer 1979). Despite the imposition of a quota in 1967, for between 1000 and 1500 Samoans to enter New Zealand each year for the purposes of employment, it was widely recognized that far greater numbers were entering New Zealand and taking up waged work.

These years were the peak period for migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand. The substantial growth in the Samoan population in New Zealand

between 1971 and 1986 (see Table 3.1) was largely a result of this particular period of migration (Connell 1983). The large migration flow also reflected in part the condition of the Western Samoan economy, in that the entire country had become dependent on wage labour opportunities avaliable in New Zealand and elsewhere. Remittances no longer supplemented income from other sources, they had come to substitute for earnings from local productive activities, especially cash cropping and they had replaced subsistence production in some areas (MacPherson 1983).

3.5 Permanent Settlement

By the mid 1970s the economic situation in New Zealand was deteriorating in response to dramatic changes occuring in the global economy. The effects of economic restructuring associated with the 'new international division of labour' began to be felt. In order to take advantage of the new opportunities, such as the export processing zones of Southeast Asia, subsidiary branches of international companies involved in New Zealand began to move offshore. Such moves affected not only the actual activities being relocated but also those industries which were involved in an ancillary capacity.

Most hard hit have been the jobs of workers in the import substitution industries which were once highly protected. Many of these industries were dominated by branch plant subsidaries of international companies involved in semi-processing. In order to take advantage of the new developments the subsidiary operations of these international companies were rationalized. Apart from the pressure to rationalize production which permeated through corporate structures, the New Zealand government also intervened to hasten the pace of change.

From 1980 onward import substitution industries were regarded as being 'inefficient' and substantial rationalization took place within the manufacturing sector. There was a liberialization of import licenses leading up to the implementation of Closer Economic Relations with Australia in 1982. Sectors with the highest effective rates of protection such as textiles, apparel and leather products, chemical, petrol and plastic products, and metal products and machinery were dramatically affected. The result in many cases was plant closures and

redundancies.

This process was accelerated once the Labour party took power in 1984. The Lange government embarked upon a major restructuring programme, based on the encouragement of private market activity and an associated reduction in state intervention, which left no sector of the New Zealand economy untouched. This programme involved radical change in five general areas; internationalization of the economy, deregulation, a reduced role for government, a change from progressive direct taxation to a more indirect and regressive system, and a modified industrial relations system. The combined effect of these policies, together with CER and the dismantling of industry protection, has been to produce economic contraction and employment reduction. The result is that unemployment figures are now at their highest level in fifty years (Britton 1989, Brosnan 1989).

It had been expected that migrants would pack up and go home if recession made their labour superfluous, but this expectation was based on a misunderstanding of the migration process. There had been a failure to see that the phase of mass labour migration was necessarily merging into a second phase of family formation. While a deteriorating economic situation and rising levels of unemployment generated a certain level of return migration, for many Samoans the return home had become increasingly problematic. Also, an increasingly number of the Samoan descent population in New Zealand were the children of migrants. The dilemmas facing return migrants and their New Zealand born children are well illustrated in Albert Wendts' book Sons for the Return Home.

To a certain extent recession served only to exacerbate the transition from temporary migration to permanent settlement. The decision to return home to Western Samoa could no longer be taken lightly as there was no longer any guarantee that return to New Zealand would be easy or even possible. Thus the migrant workers became even less mobile and gradually a third and final stage, that of permanent settlement and the development of new ethnic minorities has begun to take place (Castles et al 1984). A second generation, and often now a third generation of young Samoans, born in New Zealand and with often only second hand knowledge of the country of their parents and grand parents, are

becoming an increasingly significant proportion of the Samoan community in New Zealand (Bedford 1985).

It is in this context that this thesis will examine the labour force position of first and second generation Samoan women in New Zealand under the impact of recession and subsequent economic restructuring. However prior to beginning the empirical chapters it is necessary to discuss the research process. This will be the focus in the next chapter. This is followed by an examination of the distinctive laboour force positions of two generations of women of Samoan descent - the Island born women who have migrated from Western Samoa, and the New Zealand born women who are part of the new ethnic minority developing in New Zealand as a result of labour migration.

Chapter Four

Human Geography and Feminist Research: A Methodological Discussion

Feminist geographers argue that feminism should not only inform the choice of topic for research, it should also inform the researchers choice of method. This has resulted in increased attention being paid to both the choice of appropriate techniques for the research process and to the forms in which the research results are presented (WIBG 1984, McDowell 1988). This debate has not been confined to feminist geography. Within industrial geography, for example, similar debates about the relationship between theory, method and policy are taking place (Massey and Meegan 1985).

The impetus to devote an entire chapter to a discussion about methodology arises from the struggle I experienced in my attempts to find an appropriate methodology with which to investigate the research topic of this thesis. However before entering into this discussion it will be useful to briefly review the dominant research methods used by human geographers since the 1960s.

4.1 Quantitative geographic research

Since the 1960s research work in human geography has been dominated by quantitative methods. These research techniques are usually termed quantitative because the data is analyzed as numerical values. However there are also other procedures not directly associated with quantification which typically characterize this type of research. It is important to recognize that it is the entire quantitative research process which is under scrutiny, not just the method of data analysis (Jayaratne 1983).

The basis of the quantitative research process is theory. A knowledge of theory generates specific research hypotheses which are then tested by the means of

various research methodologies. In human geography, research methodologies often involve the construction of a written survey instrument, or a structured interview, to obtain information which measures various aspects of the model being tested. Samples of respondents are selected as representative of the population under consideration. The responses of this sample are quantifed so that statistical judgements based on the analysis of the data can be used to test the hypotheses generated from the theory. Generalizations are then made about the larger population from which the sample is drawn. During this process the researcher is recommended to stay as objective as possible and to remain uninvolved with their subjects.

4.2 The Feminist Critique

The feminist critique of this process is directed towards the quantitative research process, quantitative data, and data analysis in general. The primary criticisms arise because so much of traditional quantitative research seems inconsistent with feminist values (Jayaratne 1983).

Feminist social scientists have criticised the way in which 'objective' research has been based on concepts which actually embody a particular view of society. They point out that 'objective' knowledge is inseparable from the historical, social and political context in which it occurs (James 1986). The assumption of the researcher as the neutral observer, standing detatched from what is studied, is rejected. The separation between researcher and researched is seen as illusory, and it is argued that it is impossible for the researcher to set their point of view aside.

They have observed that this sort of methodology reflects the social conditions of the production of knowledge in our society; for example, the exploitative relationship which often exists between researcher and respondents. Other main criticisms are that the research is not used properly, that the high standards of methodological rigour are overlooked when it is expedient, and that the 'objective' aura of quantitative research can be misleading, resulting in people trusting findings that are often the product of poor methodology and bias. There is the claim that the research is often not utilized properly (being left on library shelves to

grow dusty), and an argument that quantitative analyses do not convey any indepth understanding or feeling for the persons under study (Jayaratne 1983).

Some feminists go even further and argue that the quantitative scientific approach to research is a specifically patriarchal model as it denies the significance of women's experience of oppression, classifies their concerns as private rather than shared, and embodies the values of traditional views of women's and men's expected positions in society (Stanley and Wise 1983).

As a result of these criticisms of quantitative methods the increased use of qualitative research techniques has been proposed for feminist research. It is argued that in order to understand womens experiences, feminist methods should value subjectivity, personal involvement, the qualitative and the non-quantifiable (Reinharz 1983, Stanley and Wise 1983). A well known example of feminist research in this style is the work of Oakley on attitudes towards and experience of childbirth (Oakley 1976). Another example is that of the work Mies did with battered women in Cologne (Mies 1977). Geographers who have used similar approachs include Dooley (1985), Longhurst (1985) and Tivers (1985). The use of these techniques permits interaction between the researcher and the subject, and so acknowledge emotions, feelings, personal involvement, empathy and intuition.

However, as McDowell (1988) points out, care needs to be taken to ensure that one particular methodology is not accepted as the only appropriate way to engage in feminist research. Research methods are not inherently feminist, nor on the other hand sexist or elitest. Rather, it is the assumptions behind the methods which require careful thought. The statistical survey is no more a masculine research method than the indepth case study is a feminine one. For example statistical surveys can be invaluable for understanding the overall pattern of women's paid work, changes in women's labour force participation rate and the distribution of women across industries and occupations. Therefore they have the potential to be a useful tool in the early stages of description and discovery (Jayaratne 1983).

Clearly the most significant constraint on the choice of method is that it is appropriate to the nature of the data being sought As Smith and Eyles point out (1988:6) 'the problem under investigation properly dictates the methods of investigation.' What is important is that the particular method used is explicitly justified with reference to the problem set.

4.4 The Method Adopted in this study

As much of this study was exploratory (given the paucity of previous work in this area), in the inital stages of the research it was necessary to obtain factual information from which an overall picture of the pattern of Samoan women's paid work in New Zealand could be constructed. Much of the information required was available from unpublished statistical tables obtained from the Department of Statistics. These tables were broken down by birthplace, differentiating between New Zealand born and Island born people of Samoan descent. These tables contained not only labour force data such as industrial and occupational distribution, but also more general characteristics of the Samoan descent population in New Zealand such as age-sex distributions.

However a statistical analysis, based on the data contained in these tables, is purely descriptive. It does not indicate why the patterns which occur exist; that is, it can not be used to identify specific causal mechanisms. Also, it does not reveal anything about changes over time. This is a particularly valid criticism when it is considered how quickly the census material has dated. There have been major shifts in the New Zealand economy over the years since 1986 which are likely to have impacted on both overall levels of employment, and industrial and occupational distribution.

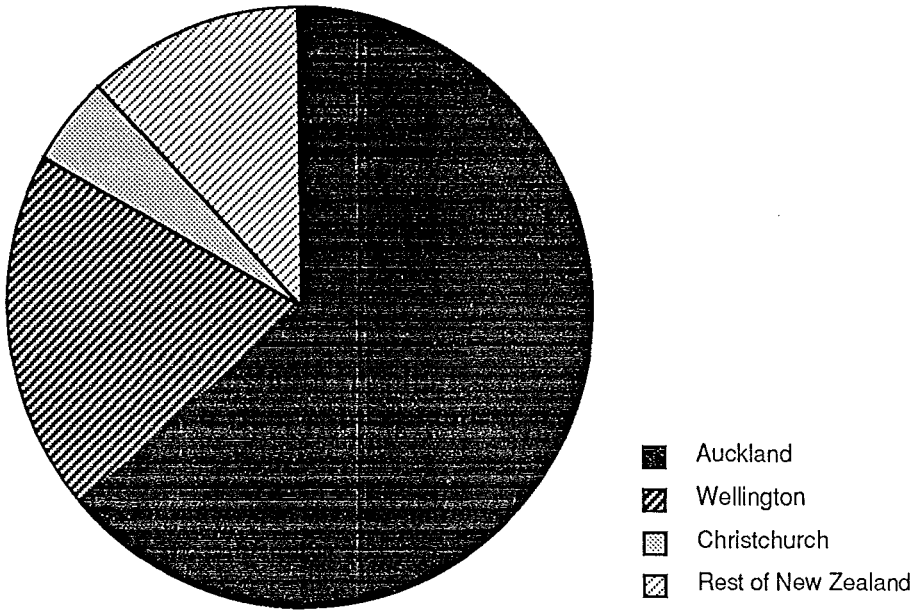
Further, the information collected by the five yearly census which relates to women's activities is highly biased towards paid 'productive' work, information about unpaid 'reproductive' work is not collected. It was decided that a statistical analysis could be usefully complemented by a series of interviews.

Because Christchurch was the study area it was necessary to establish how the Samoan descent population in Christchurch differed from that of New Zealand as

a whole. Using the more general statistical information it could be established that although the Samoan descent population in Christchurch is relatively small in comparison to the populations in Wellington or Auckland (Figure 4.1), the socio-demographic characteristics of the population in Christchurch are not substantially different from that of the New Zealand Samoan population as a whole.

Figure 4.1

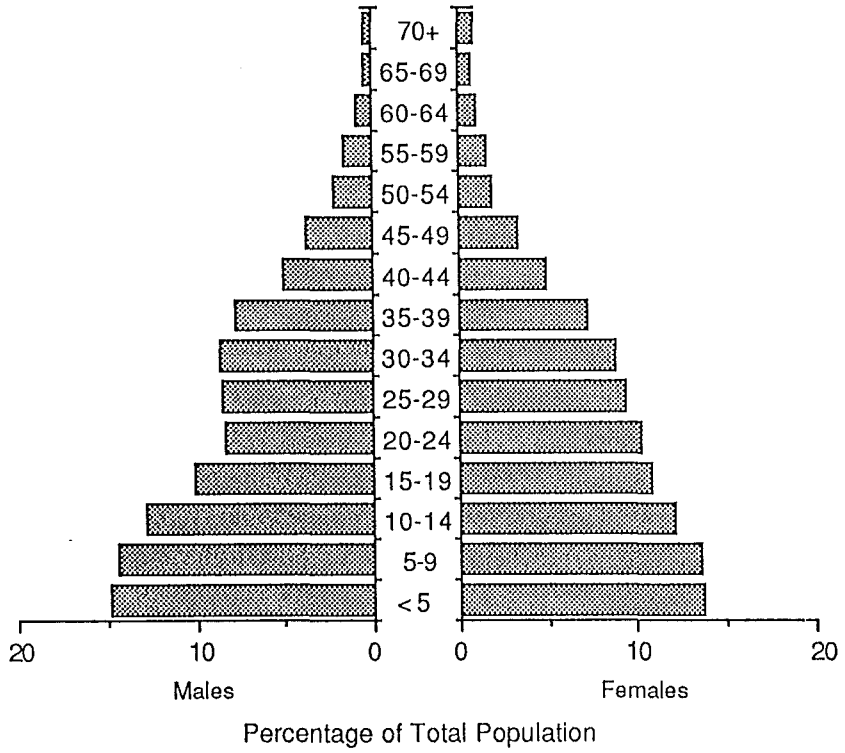
Place of Usual Residence
Samoan Descent Population



From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, unpublished tables

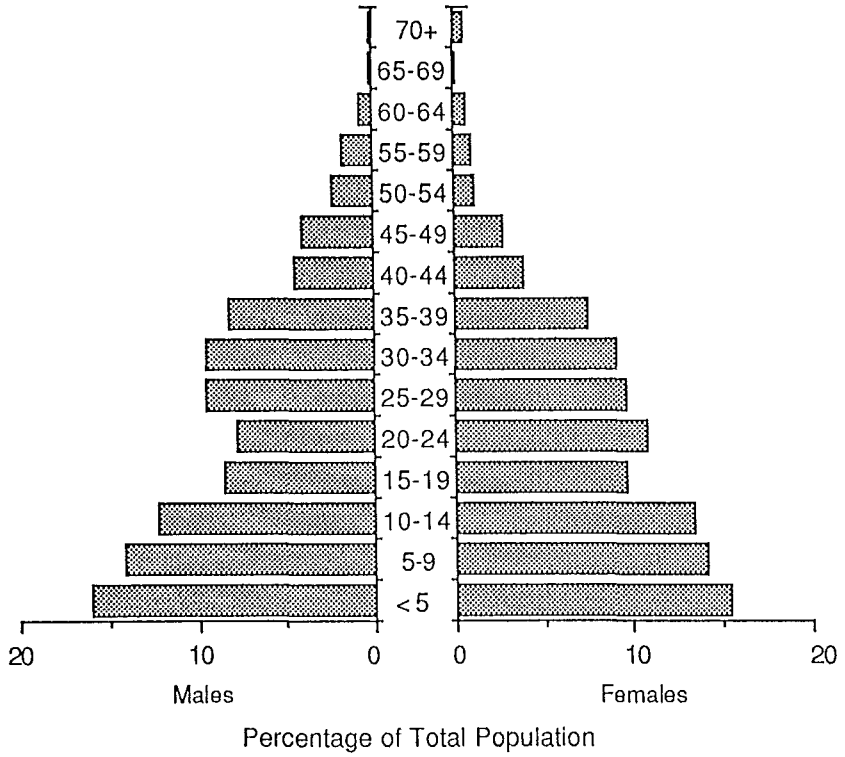
This can be illustrated if Figures 4.2a and 4.2b are considered. The age-sex pyramids contained in these figures show that the composition of the Christchurch population and the New Zealand population are similar. Figure 4.3 shows length of residence in New Zealand and again indicates that the Samoan population in Christchurch has similar characteristics to that for the Samoan population in New Zealand as a whole.

Figure 4.2a: Age-Sex structure, Samoan descent population in New Zealand



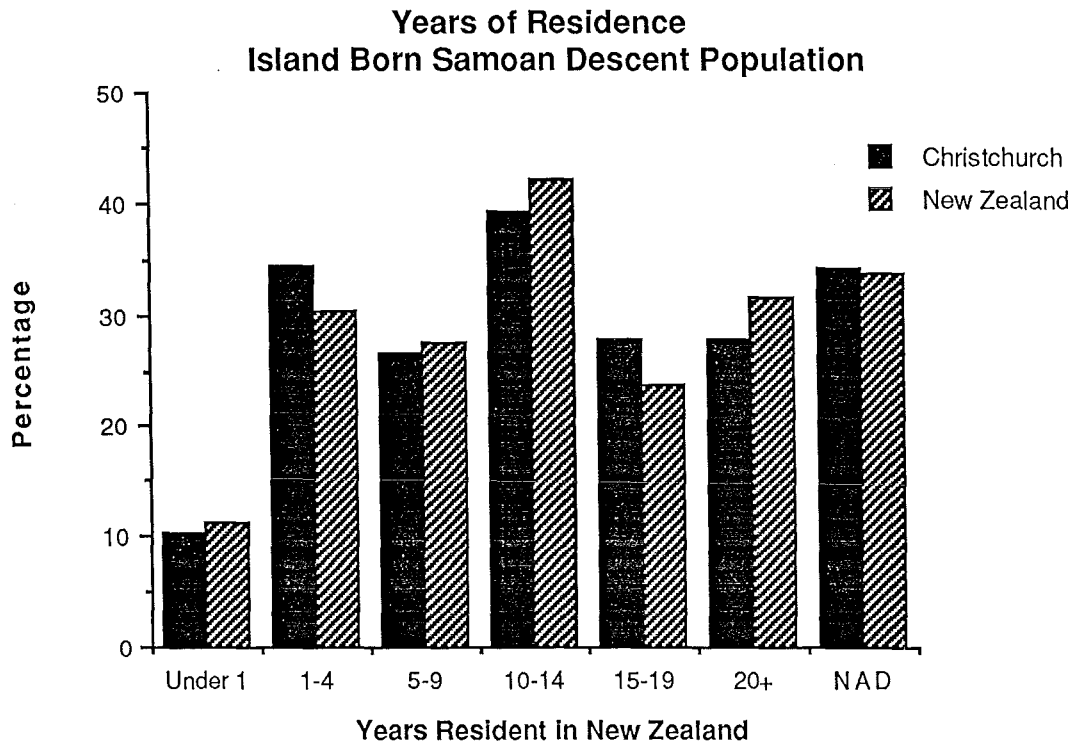
From: NZ Census 1986, unpublished tables

Figure 4.2b: Age-Sex structure, Samoan descent population in Christchurch



From: NZ Census 1986, unpublished tables

Figure 4.3



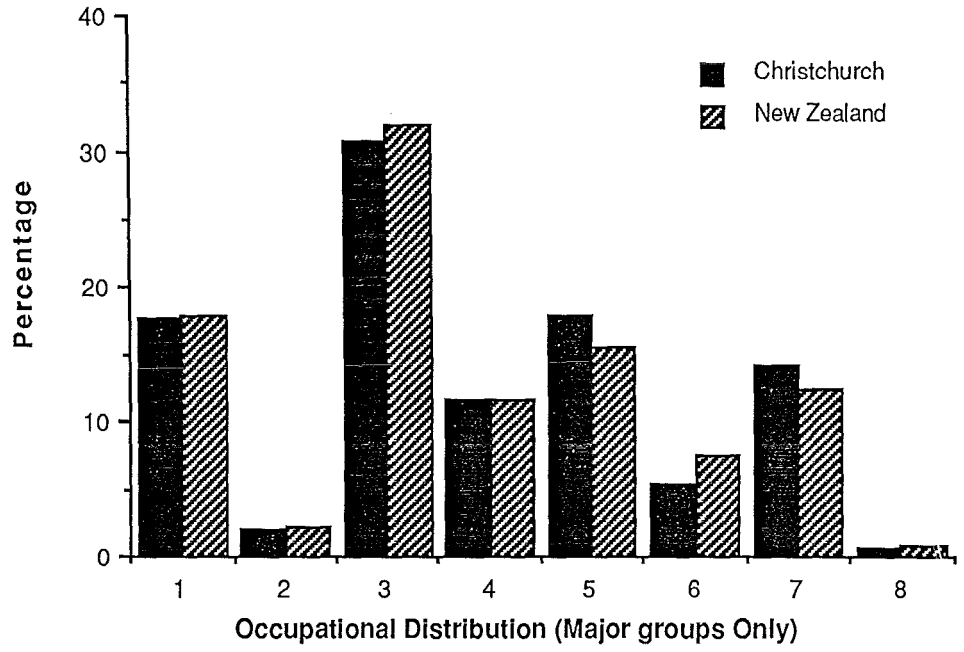
From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, unpublished tables

The suitability of Christchurch as the site for this second stage of the research is reinforced if the structure of the labour market in the city is considered. As the discussion in the previous chapter indicates, it was expected that many migrant women workers would be involved in the manufacturing sector of the labour market. As Figure 4.4 shows clearly, Christchurch is a particularly suitable site for research of this nature given the level of the female labour force involved in manufacturing.

An examination of this statistical material also brings to attention to the varying age structure between the New Zealand born and the Island born groups (Figures 4.5a and 4.5b). The age-sex pyramid for the Island born population is typical of a migrant population with the heaviest concentrations of numbers in the working ages. The New Zealand born population is still quite young, reflecting the relatively short period that a large Samoan population has been permanently

Figure 4.4

Occupational Distribution of Total Female Labour Force

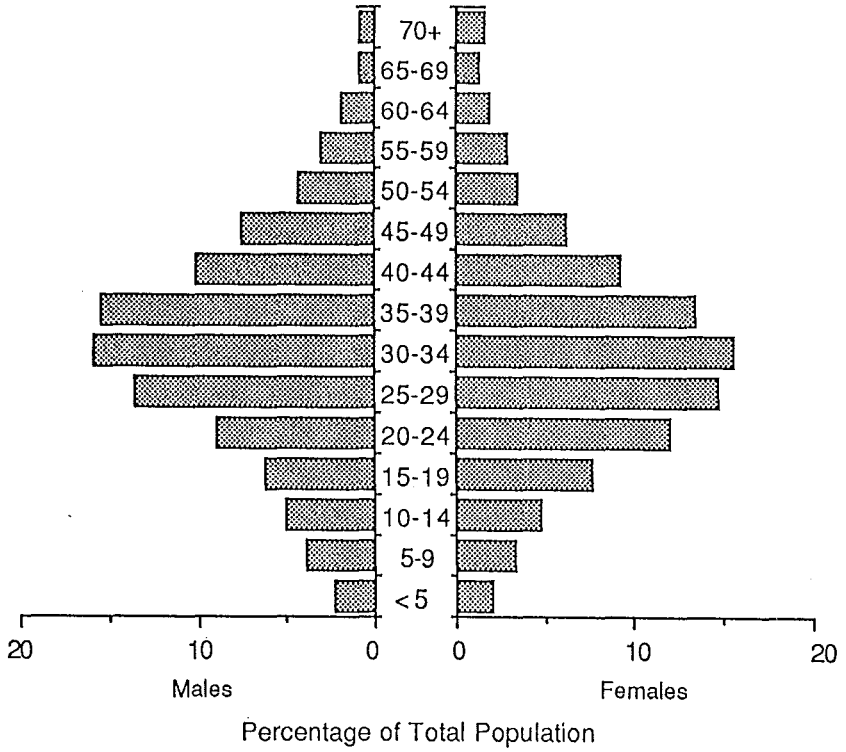


Occupation Groups

1. Professional, Technical and Related Workers
2. Administrative and Managerial Workers
3. Clerical and Related Workers
4. Sales Workers
5. Service Workers
6. Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen (sic) and Hunters
7. Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers
8. Not Adequately Defined

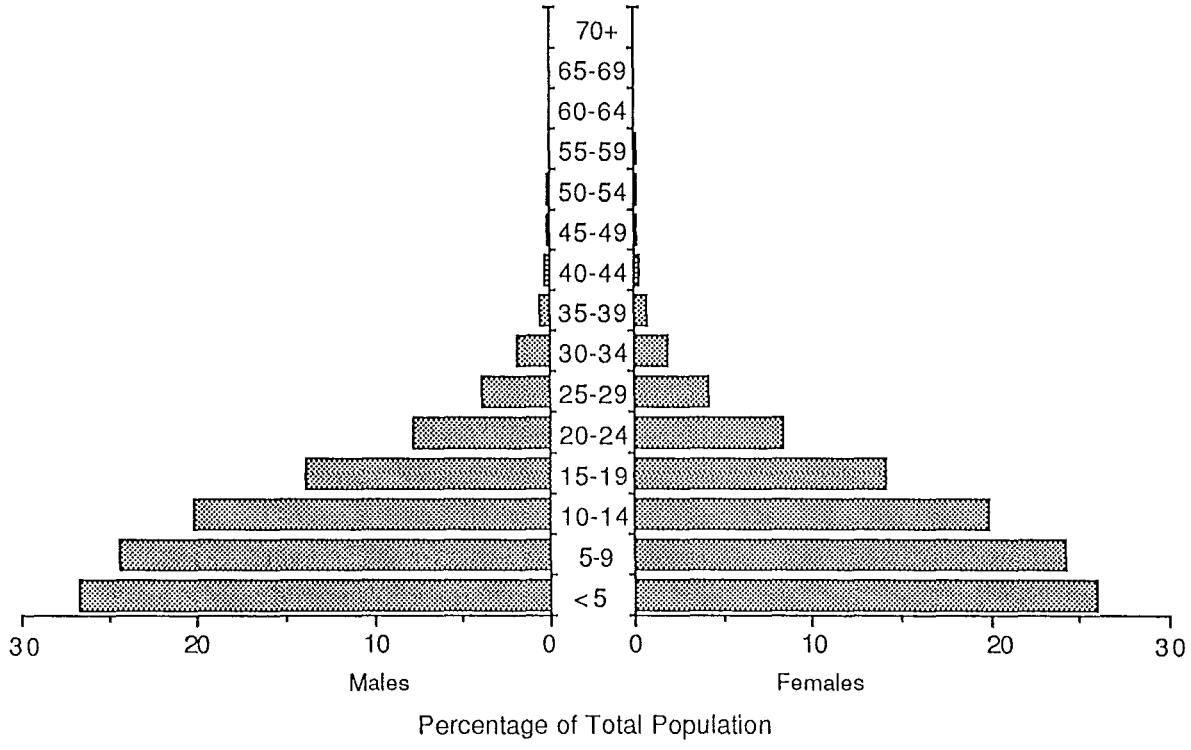
From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, Series C Report 5

Figure 4.5a: Age-Sex structure, Island born Samoan descent population



From: NZ Census 1986, unpublished tables

Figure 4.5b: Age-Sex structure, New Zealand born Samoan descent population



From: NZ Census 1986, unpublished tables

settled in New Zealand. In an attempt to overcome the difficulties this varying age structure presented it was decided that it would be necessary to attempt to control for age by limiting the interviews to younger women, in particular those between fifteen and thirty-five years of age.

4.4 The Interview Schedule

The second stage of the research process involved a great deal of thought as to the best way to proceed. Because of my interest in feminist research the design of the interview schedule was based on the following criteria. Firstly, it was crucial to allow the women involved in the study to speak for themselves, in their own words and forms of words about the subjects under consideration. Secondly, the interviews had to permit a wide ranging investigation of areas of their lives other than work, including family relationships, culture, the migration experience and involvement in the wider community. Thirdly, the interviews had to collect comparable biographical and employment data for each woman.

It was expected that analysis of this data would involve both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Some of the questions would be designed to collect quantitative information which would overcome some of the shortcomings of the census data - information about domestic work for example. The other questions in the interview schedule were orientated towards the collection of qualitative data which would record the perceptions the women had of their situations.

Once these criteria were established it was possible to rule out certain types of approach. Formal survey methods using questionnaires or standardized or tightly structured interviews which would restrict the women's responses to a limited range of responses were clearly inappropriate. Thus it was decided that it would be best to conduct a series of indepth semi-structured interviews which would take place in the women's own homes where ever possible - the assumption being that this would be an environment in which they would feel relaxed. A copy of the interview schedule can be found in Appendix One.

4.5 The Interviews

This part of the research process commenced with an approach to the Samoan

Advisory Council, a body which represents the established Samoan community in Christchurch. A meeting was arranged with the Council members through Dr Malama Meleisea, the director of the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of Canterbury. Unfortunately this meeting did not take place because of a funeral, however permission to proceed was relayed back to me through Dr Meleisea.

Once this permission was obtained a considerable amount of time was spent attending services at two of the largest Samoan churches in Christchurch, meeting various community groups, and talking to strategic members of the Samoan community in Christchurch. Initial access into these forums was again with the assistance of Dr Meleisea. These meetings were designed to enable as many people as possible to become acquainted with me and with the work I was doing, as well as allowing me to become more familiar with cultural and situational factors.

Contact was also made with a community organization which had recently been established by a group of second generation Samoan women to deal specifically with issues of concern to Pacific Island women and young people. The approach to this group enabled contact with a large number of New Zealand born women, many of whom have withdrawn from more traditional Samoan church and community groups.

In my inital discussions with Dr Meleisea I had expressed my willingness to prepare a report specifically for those members of both the Samoan and broader community who were interested in the result of my work. This offer was received with a great deal of enthusiasm by those people contacted in the course of the field research and considerable interest was expressed in the findings of such a report.

After inital access was gained to the wider community I began to hold discussions with key informants who helped by providing both background information and also advice about customs, acceptable and unacceptable questions, and language. People in this category included Dr Meleisea and his wife Dr Penelope

Schoeffel, older women in the Samoan community, Samoan students at the university and a social worker involved with the Samoan community.

The women in the interview sample were identified using a non-random snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling is where one informant introduces another. This technique enables the researcher to gain the trust of the group because they are known to others and so facilitates the discussion of sensitive and confidential issues.

The first interviews were with initial contacts, and the circle was widened, as opportunity offered, to include other women met in homes or in church or recruited by those already involved. The interviews were conducted privately and the women were guaranteed anonymity. This was to prove a relatively successful way to proceed. Only a small number of the women contacted did not want to be involved in the study. It should be noted that I was very reluctant to put any pressure on those women who were ambivalent about meeting me. It was important that the women contacted perceived that they had a choice about participation.

The women who did not want to be involved fell into two broad, not completely unrelated, categories. There were those who were under considerable pressure due to a high level of commitments, and there were those who felt uncomfortable about being interviewed. I had been warned at the beginning of the study that there was a tendency for people who were having difficulties to withdraw from the Samoan community and that these people would possibly be reluctant to talk to me (Meleisea and Schoeffel pers com). On the basis of the little information I have about those women who did not want to be involved I suspect this warning was well founded.

Data gathered through the interviews was recorded in the form of field notes. Initially a fairly structured interview schedule had been designed, but after a while it became clear that it was better to concentrate on being an active listener, relinquishing some control over the sequence of issues discussed for the sake of building up a better rapport with the women. Because the study was exploratory it

was not possible to predict accurately what the women might say, and the whole point of the exercise was to encourage them to talk about themselves in a way they found easy.

As a result the interviewing process became very informal. The sequence of the questions and their wording was not worked out before hand. I tried to tailor the wording of the questions to each particular woman and to ask the questions in an order appropriate for the interviewee. The aim was to ensure that the questions had the same meaning for all women and to engage in 'conversation' to set the women at ease.

Because I was aware of the feminist critique of more conventional methods I was very conscious of the dynamics of the research process. This meant consideration of issues not usually included in research reports such as the social characteristics of the interviewer, the interviewee's feelings about being interviewed, hospitality offered to the interviewer and the extensions of the research encounter into a more broadly based social relationship (Oakley 1979).

It was necessary that I recognized that the effect of my personal characteristics were an integral part of the research process. Firstly, and most critically, I was very aware that because of the differences in our ethnic backgrounds, the other women involved in the study and I had not shared similar experiences in New Zealand society. I was well aware of the vigorous debate over the ethical difficulties associated with members of a majority culture doing research with members of a minority culture (Stokes 1985). It was critical that I proceed with sensitivity and openess. As one woman commented to me with respect to some of the difficulties she had experienced during her adolescence; " You can never really understand what it was like for us".

Another difficulty was that of language. Because of my inability to speak Samoan all the interviews were conducted in English. Although there were no obvious misunderstandings it is significant that this was the only language used and in this sense must be regarded as a subtle form of ethnocentrisim, particularly for the women born in Western Samoa for whom English is a second language (James

1986). This factor also influenced the final compostion of the group of Island born women in that there was a tendency to refer me to those women who had a good understanding of English. The result is that the Island born women in the sample are to a certain extent atypical in that they represent those Island born Samoan women living in Christchurch who speak fluent English.

The composition of the interview sample was also atypical because of a tendency by these women to direct me towards other women they knew who had 'good' jobs rather than low status jobs. This impression was reinforced by the inital response of a number of the Island born women whom I contacted. Those doing low skilled jobs were often incredulous that I wanted to talk to them. When I contacted one woman (a hospital kitchen hand) to make a time for the interview she said,

> "There's nothing interesting about me. Have you talked to (name)? She's a nurse and it would be much better for you to talk to her."

However in another way, my different ethnic background to the women I interviewed was an advantage. Because of my status as an outsider in the Samoan community, the women felt comfortable telling me details about their lives which would have been more difficult for them to admit to a Samoan researcher.

> "I can explain more to you, I don't have to be polite and use all the right words like I would for a Samoan person."

> "It's much better talking to a Palangi about these things, if you were Samoan I would think you should know all these things."

This experience was confirmed by other people I spoke to (both Palangi and Samoan) who were working with the Samoan community in Christchurch in other capacities, as well as by many of the women themselves.

Further, my appearance, age, sex and background were all to prove assets. As a young, casually dressed woman from a similar socio-economic background to many of the women involved in the study it was relatively easy to build up a rapport. "Its just like talking to a friend" one woman commented, "I wouldn't tell a man these things" another mentioned. A number of women expressed surprise that I didn't own a car.

The other difficulty I had to confront was that of being a member of a privileged group with access to education. This put me in a challenging position where clearly an immediate concern was to close the gap between me and the women involved in the study. In an attempt to do this, I encouraged the women to ask questions of me, about my life and work and tried to answer these questions as honestly as I could.

The interviews were usually quite relaxed, particularly when the participant already knew of me from someone else, and I had little difficulty in encouraging the women to talk even if initially there were sometimes reservations about either the purpose of the research or their own performance in the interview situation. I had been advised of the customary practise of taking a food gift whenever visiting a Samoan household and this was to prove a good icebreaker. I was usually offered tea or coffee, and often the interview turned into a pleasant social occasion. The interviews varied greatly in length, the shortest being just under an hour and the longest taking nearly three hours.

4.5 The Sample Group

Forty-nine interviews were completed over a period of three months, of which forty-four have been used in tabulations. The remaining five interview schedules were not included in the tables because three of the women were on Access courses and the other two woman were full time students.

It proved impractical to adhere strictly to the inital intention to confine the interviews to women under the age of thirty-five, particularly among the Island born women. As a result, while the average age of the Island born women interviewed was thirty, their ages actually ranged from twenty to forty. Many of the women I spoke to in the early stages of the research simply did not know of many Island born women in the specified age group who spoke enough English to feel comfortable about being interviewed. It was much easier to obtain a sample of New Zealand born women within the appropriate age groups. The average age for the New Zealand born group was twenty-four with an age range from seventeen to thirty-two (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Ages of Women Interviewed

Age Group	NZ Born *N = 22*	Island Born *N = 22*
15-19	2	-
20-24	10	3
25-29	9	7
30-34	1	7
35-40	-	5

From: Interviews

4.5 Conclusion

The methodological approach adopted in this thesis has been strongly influenced by the ideas of feminist researchers. The methods utilized involve the judicious use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data derived from published and unpublished tables from the Department of Statistics are used in discussions about the overall labour force patterns of women of Samoan descent. This analysis has been complemented by a series of indepth semi-structured interviews which allowed not only the collection of additional quantitative data in order to overcome some of the omissions of the census, but also allowed the collection of more qualitative data. The analysis provided in subsequent chapters will not only develop a description of the labour market patterns of New Zealand and Island born Samoan women, it will also develop an explanation of the causal mechanisms involved.

Chapter Five

Production and Reproduction

This is the first of three chapters which use empirical data and the experiences of the women involved in the interviews to examine the involvement of Samoan women in the paid labour force. In this chapter three specific issues relating to labour force participation will be considered: economic activity rates; hours of paid work; and the structure of paid work. These themes are introduced with a brief analysis of the overall patterns as derived from census data. This is followed by an attempt to explain the patterns using information from interviews and secondary sources. In the course of the chapter it will become evident that the labour force participation of Samoan women (their role in production) can not be explained without considering also their unpaid activities in domestic work and childcare (their role in reproduction).

5.1 Economic Activity Rates

An economic activity rate, or labour force participation rate as it is also known, is measured as the percentage of a population sub-group in the labour force. The labour force is defined as those working in the waged workforce plus those seeking such work. It is important to realise that, as with most summary measures, the economic activity rate has its shortcomings. As Beneria (1981:12) states, the rate 'reflects the link between the concepts of labour force and national product - active labour being defined as that which contributes to the national product plus involuntary inactive or unemployed labour'. Thus while the rate is useful as a measure of who is producing goods for sale in the official economy it fails, as with so many labour force statistics, to take into consideration work outside the official economy.

When the economic activity rates of New Zealand and Island born Samoan women are compared with those for all women, it can be seen that both groups of Samoan women have a higher percentage of women involved in the workforce

Table 5.1: Work Status of Women in New Zealand

(Percentages)

	Samoan Women		All Women
	NZ Born	Island Born	
Full Time[a]	50.0	46.8	36.9
Part Time[b]	13.0	12.9	16.4
Total in Labour Force	63.0	59.7	53.3
Non Labour Force	37.0	40.3	46.7
Total[c]	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Women working 30 or more hours each week, plus women who are unemployed and seeking full time work.

(b) Women working 1-29 hours each week, plus women who are unemployed and seeking part time work.

(c) Apparent errors are due to rounding

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, published and unpublished tables

than is the case for the female population as a whole (Table 5.1). These figures also allow discussion of the levels of part time and full time work. Within both Samoan groups there is clearly a strong emphasis on full time work and the levels of part time work are lower than that for all women.

The differences in the age distribution between the two populations should be considered in this discussion. As previously mentioned, the Island born population is typical of a migrant population with the heaviest concentrations in

the working ages. The New Zealand born population is still quite young, reflecting the short time a relatively large Samoan population has been permanently established in New Zealand. It has been found that age, number of children, ages of children and family structure may all affect labour force participation for women (Hyman 1980, Horsfield 1988).

Some of the difficulties of the distinctive age structure of the two populations can be overcome by considering age specific economic activity rates. Table 5.2 allows these rates to be compared. This table raises a number of different issues. For example it can be seen that in the youngest age group, the cohort aged 15 - 19, the economic activity rate for Samoan women is lower than that for New Zealand women as a whole. This may be because young Samoan women are staying at school longer before entering the workforce, or are seeking tertiary qualifications before entering paid employment. This issue is considered in more detail when education and training are examined in Chapter seven.

Most significant for this discussion are the figures for women over the age of twenty-five. These are the age groups in which women are most likely to have young children and it has been observed that the presence of such children usually results in women reducing their participation in the paid labour force (Horsfield 1988).

The indications from Table 5.2 are that Samoan women are more likely to continue their involvement in the full time labour force even after they become involved with child bearing and rearing, where as amongst all women there is a greater tendency to either drop down to part time work during this period or withdraw from the paid labour force entirely.

Thus the age specific activity rates show that while the total labour force participation of Samoan women may not necessarily be higher than that for all women, there is evidence that Samoan women, both New Zealand born and Island born, are more likely to be engaged in wage labour during the child bearing years. The significance of the high economic activity rates of these two groups is not simply that they are over-represented relative to their numbers in

Table 5.2: Work Status of Women in New Zealand

(Age Specific Rates)

	Samoan Women		All Women
	NZ Born	Island Born	
Full Time			
15-19	41.3	34.3	46.1
20-24	64.7	61.7	64.4
25-29	51.6	47.4	45.6
30-39	48.1	47.2	40.4
40+	41.0	42.8	24.7
Part Time			
15-19	13.5	11.0	14.6
20-24	9.1	9.3	9.9
25-29	14.0	12.2	17.3
30-39	21.0	15.5	27.5
40+	15.4	12.7	13.5
Total in Labour Force[a]			
15-19	54.8	45.3	60.7
20-24	73.8	71.0	74.3
25-29	65.6	59.6	62.9
30-39	69.2	62.7	67.8
40+	56.4	55.5	38.2
Non Labour Force			
15-19	45.2	54.4	39.3
20-24	25.9	29.1	25.7
25-29	33.9	40.4	37.1
30-39	30.1	37.2	32.2
40+	46.1	44.5	61.8

(a) Apparent errors due to rounding

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, published and unpublished tables

the population, as Table 5.1 indicates, it is because most are married with dependent children.

If economic activity rates for married women are considered, this point is emphasized. The classification of women into two groups based on their legal relationships with men is one commonly used by researchers working with labour force data, although this classification denies the variety of womens lives and obscures, for example, the common experiences that women with children share regardless of their legal status (Horsfield 1988).

A comparison of the economic activity rates for married women shows that 41% of married New Zealand born Samoan women, and 42% of married Island born Samoan women are involved in full time paid work. These figures are considerably higher than the full time economic activity rate for women in general, which is only 33% (New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, published and unpublished tables). In short, Samoan women, both New Zealand and Island born, are more likely than New Zealand women as a whole to perform a dual role in production and reproduction.

This finding is supported by other studies. Revell and Brosnan (1986) have compared labour force participation rates for Pakeha, Maori and Pacific Island Polynesians. Using the 1981 Census they show that Pacific Island Polynesians have the highest participation rates for both men and women of all three groups. However this study does not distinguish between the two generations of Pacific Island Polynesians in New Zealand. Graves and Graves (1983) claim that in their sample Pacific Island Polynesian women are only slightly more likely to be in paid work, but that almost half of them have small children needing some sort of care.

5.2 Reasons for Labour Force Participation

When women who are in paid work are asked why they work, they usually give a number of alternative answers that divide into two categories, economic reasons and social or emotional reasons. At the most fundamental level economic necessity is the reason for the high levels of labour force participation amongst

the two groups of women involved in this study. Women, like men, ultimately work for a wage and the majority of the women in both categories, when asked why they worked, said that they worked because they needed the money. However even if it is accepted that many of these women work for the money provided by paid employment, this in itself can have different implications. For example, a woman's wage can be used as an integral part of the household economy or it can provide the woman with a measure of financial independence (Stone 1983).

In the discussion which follows the experiences of the women involved in the interviews will be used to explore this issue further. As Table 5.3 indicates, the economic activity rates of both the New Zealand born and Island born women involved in this study are similar to those derived from the census.

Table 5.3: Work Status of Women Interviewed

	NZ Born *N=22*	Island Born *N=22*
Full Time Paid Work	11	13
Part Time Paid Work	5	4
'Unemployed' (Looking for paid work)	2	1
Full Time Domestic Work (Not looking for paid work)	3	4
Full Time Volunteer Work	1	-

From: Interviews

5.2.1 Island born Women

During the course of the study it became very clear that the Island born women undertook paid work primarily because of high levels of financial commitment both to their immediate family in New Zealand and to their relatives in the aiga in Western Samoa. This fact has been widely recognized in previous studies of the Samoan community. Most authors agree that economic motivations rank high for Samoan migrants in general (Challis 1970, Fairbairn 1961, Pitt and MacPherson 1974). As one woman succinctly commented,

> "Our country has a lot of family things that need money."

Of the twenty two women born in Western Samoa, only two were not sending remittances back on a regular basis. Of these two, one had all her extended family here in New Zealand and provided financial support to them. The Island born woman's wage is thus an essential part of the economy of the extended family. A number commented on the particular onus on daughters, especially the oldest daughter, to support their parents.

> "At the moment I am depending on myself. And I have Mum and Dad back in the Islands so I must give them some help. Then there is the rest of my family also. I'm the oldest girl and in our tradition the oldest girl must look after the other kids as well as the parents".

To a certain extent the attitude that the Island born respondent had to these family financial commitments was related to her position in the family. For the single woman, who did not have a husband or children to support, the emphasis was on providing financial assistance to her parents who were usually living in Western Samoa. It was not uncommon for these women to be remitting substantial proportions of their wages. However the priorities for the women with families of their own were slightly different and there was more emphasis on supporting their immediate families.

> "The more money I send back to Samoa, the more my family wastes it. Living costs are much higher here. So now I wait until they call and then I send the money over if it's a good reason. I have to stand up for my own rights; I have a family of my own now."

A number of the married Island born women emphasised the high cost of living in New Zealand and pointed out that rents in New Zealand and the overall cost of living necessitates that most households have at least two wage earners, particularly once the children start school. This factor has additional significance if the material disadvantages experienced by Samoan migrants in New Zealand in terms of pay, housing costs and family size are kept in mind (Pitt and MacPherson 1974).

Now that there is a large Samoan community established in New Zealand, financial commitments to both the church and to relatives living in New Zealand claim a sizeable amount of the family income. Virtually all of the Island born women interviewed regularly attended church services and many were involved in additional church activities such as the Youth group, the Womens group and the choir. While the church plays a valuable role within the Samoan community (see Pitt and MacPherson 1974 for further discussion), involvement in church related activities often involves customary contributions of fine mats, food, and relatively large sums of money. It has been claimed that these activities place a particularly heavy burden on the women of the migrant community (Graves 1984). As one women commented,

> "There are good things and bad things about the Samoan church. The bad thing is that it always involves money."

Clearly then, for the Island born women, work in the paid labour force is a response to the economic needs of either their immediate or extended families.

Despite this strong emphasis on economic necessity as a motivating force for participation in waged work, it is not the only factor to be considered. The majority of the Island born women were aware of other benefits associated with waged work. Yet when this issue was explored it became clear that while they also valued paid work for both the companionship it provided and the opportunity to escape the tedium of domestic work, this was seen as secondary to economic motivations. The following comments are typical.

> "I need the money. And sometimes I need to get out. But mostly

> its the money. Everything here is so expensive especially now that my girls are at school."
>
> "I need the money. I want new clothes and I want new things for my kids. There are too many bills and I have to support my family back home. It is not the company for me like it is for some of the other ladies, I just need the money."

When asked if they would continue to work outside the home even if it was not financially necessary seven of the women answered that they would not. Most of these women mentioned the lack of contact with their family as their main reason for wanting to give up work.

> "I'd like to be home to look after my kids. I hardly ever see them - maybe for an hour after they get home from school and that's it then I have to go to work. They are asleep when I get home (at 4 a.m.) and usually I am asleep when they get up to go to school."
>
> "I'd like to give up work. I miss my time at home with my family"

For many of the remaining women, it appeared that the idea of having enough money to satisfy all their needs was inconceivable. Financial reasons were most often cited as being the main reason for continuing in paid work.

> "I think I'll always keep working. There are always plenty more things to spend money on. I could bring all my family over here for a start, it would be good having them here, they could help me look after the kids."

The most significant constraint on participation of the Island born women in the paid labour force was the difficulty of childcare. While economic motivations result in participation in paid work being seen as desirable, this could only continue for women with children if there were satisfactory childcare arrangements. For many women this was not the case. The lack of an extended kin group was often cited as being a difficulty, and it was pointed out that in Western Samoa the responsibility for childcare had been shared among the female members of the aiga, rather than child rearing being the specific responsibility of the mother. Further, lifestyles in New Zealand mean that even if close kin lived nearby, they were usually busy with their own work and domestic chores. The expense of formal childcare facilities means that in most cases they are out of the question as a solution to this problem.

> "I left work to have my family. When my boy was six months old I left him with a baby sitter and went back to work for three or four months. But that was no good because all my money went to pay the baby sitter. So I decided it was better for me to stay home and look after my own kids."
>
> "If we had more money I'd bring my mother out from Samoa and that would solve the problem of who would look after the children. Then I'd be able to go out and work and earn the money to pay for all the things we need."

5.2.2 New Zealand born women

While the majority of the New Zealand born women also initially cited economic considerations as their primary reason for being involved in paid work, subsequent discussion revealed marked differences from the Island born women. Firstly, in contrast to the Island born women, the New Zealand born women tend to limit their financial commitment to the immediate family rather than to the extended family. In fact many of the women had extremely strong feelings about the level of financial involvement their parents had with both the church and their extended family in Western Samoa. Only one of the New Zealand born women was directly involved in sending remittances back to Western Samoa. Further, many of these women had withdrawn from the church, one of the stated reasons being the high level of financial commitment that participation demanded.

> "Fa'aSamoa has its place in Samoa but I think here the family should come first. Lots of Samoans are in debt up to their eyeballs because their extended family and the church come first. The financial commitments are so high. We are O.K. because we both earn quite a bit - but if we didn't..."
>
> "I used to see the arguments and the chaos it caused. It was a do or die thing - you had to give despite the condition of your family. Giving in the islands used to be according to how much you earned but here it has got all confused. I used to get really mad at people. As poor as the family may be, they always managed to find money to send back to Samoa or for the church."

Although the New Zealand born women do not have the same high level of financial pressure as the Island born women, they still tended to see their wage as part of a household economy rather than as a means to their financial

independence. They explained their wage work in terms of the benefits it confers upon the family, although again there were differences in attitude within the group related to the woman's position in the family. When asked how they spent their wage, the single women all mentioned that they helped their parents financially. In fact two of the single women gave the bulk of their pay straight to their parents, keeping only a small amount aside for personal expenditure. In contrast the women with children were more likely to mention their children and household bills as the most important items of expenditure.

Despite the strong emphasis on economic motivations within this group, the majority of the New Zealand born women interviewed said that they would continue to work outside the home even if it was not financially necessary and few stated that they would stay at home under those circumstances. Fifteen out of the sixteen women engaged in wage labour said that they would prefer working to not working if they had enough money for themselves and their families, although a number suggested that they would drop from full time work to part time work.

In light of this point it is significant that larger numbers of New Zealand born women than Island born women are involved in part time work during their childbearing years (seeTable 5.2). This would indicate that the New Zealand born women are prepared to accept the lower pay associated with part time work in order to have time for housework and childcare. The propensity for these women to work part time means in part that they can afford to (Bruegel 1989).

Discussion following this question elicited some interesting responses from the New Zealand born women. Firstly, there was widespread acknowedgement of the intrinsic values which paid work confers and the importance of those intrinsic values to their continued labour force participation. The comments below illustrate this clearly.

> "I'd probably always work, at least part time, just to stay active. I"d get bored with kids staying at home and I think I'd loose touch with the outside world".
>
> "I have to work to keep my sanity. I wouldn't have it any other

> way, and besides I'm useless at home so I may as well be working. I'm just not the homely type"
>
> "I'd probably want to work at least part time. I could never stay at home doing nothing - (son) would just drive me mad"

Secondly, it became clear that the experience of their parents has influenced the attitude of these women towards labour force participation. There is a clear set of employment orientated attitudes evident among these women. This is not to argue that a strong work ethic is an inherently 'Samoan' trait, rather the high labour force participation of the second generation can be seen as a necessary response to a certain set of structural features and related experiences (Dex 1983). Their experience is such that they have seen their parents involved in paid work for the majority of their lives.

> "Our parents have always been hard workers and I think it rubs off on us. I think I'll always keep working - at least part time"
>
> "Dad has always said that we should work. Money is no object to me, but I've been brought up with a really strong work ethic"

The desire for a continued high level of participation in the paid labour force is facilitated by the development of new kin networks here in New Zealand which mean that in contrast to the Island born women, most of the New Zealand born women were able to rely on the help of their mothers and sisters for assistance with childcare. The advantages of this were quite clear and well recognized by the women.

> "I haven't got any of my family here in Christchurch and that makes things a bit difficult for me. For a year (son) stayed at my husband's aunties house and her children looked after him. She has a part time job too so it wasn't always convenient so I used to ask the other aunties as well. But it was just too unreliable and besides he was picking up bad habits. I tried a childcare centre for a while but that was too expensive and nearly half my pay was going on them. I just couldn't afford it and in fact I still owe them money. Now my friends flatmate is looking after him. She's unemployed and I pay her a bit so shes quite happy to do it. But if she ever gets a job I don't know what I'll do - I'll probably just have to give up work. I reckon you have to have family to look after your children, especially if you are working part time or in a job that doesn't pay very much like a factory job"

In sum, the high economic activity rates of the New Zealand born women cannot be explained simply as a response to economic necessity. While this is clearly a significant factor, there are additional reasons for joining the labour force and which have resulted in these women continuing in paid work following childbirth. The distinctions between the two groups become more obvious once these factors are taken into consideration.

5.3 Hours of Work(6)

The economic activity rate makes a simple dichotomy between part time and full time work. It does not look at the actual number of hours worked nor does it look at how that work is structured.

Amongst the Island born women in the sample there was not only the greater tendency to participate in full time work noted earlier, there were also several women who were working significant amounts of overtime. Nine of the seventeen women who had paid work did some overtime. Six were doing overtime on a regular basis (at least once a week) and three of those were working overtime two or more times a week. It should also be noted that three of the women contacted unsuccessfully for an interview stated that they were too busy at the moment as they were doing lots of overtime. It would seem that the extra work is well sought after, not least of all because of the extra money it provides. This accords with the findings of Pitt and MacPherson (1974) who noted that the amount of overtime avaliable in a workplace was important for Samoan migrant workers. They claim that possible earnings seemed to matter more than hours, status or job satisfaction.

Only four of the New Zealand born women did any overtime and, in contrast to the Island born women, only one of these women did overtime on a regular basis. She and her husband had recently bought a house and her husband had been made redundant shortly afterwards.

5.4 Structure of Work

The other important issue in this discussion is the structure of work. This is particularly significant in light of the previous discussion about the difficulty of

childcare. The majority of the married Island born women were limited to jobs which were compatible with their childcare provisions. As a result five of the Island born women interviewed (and two of the unsuccessful contacts) were working permanent night shifts. All of these women had children and were working nights so that both they and their husbands could earn money and still have someone at home to look after the children.

Frequently the pay was mentioned as an added attraction of night shifts. Again this accords with the findings of Pitt and MacPherson (1974) who claimed that night shift was found to be popular with many Samoan migrants as this enabled a couple to earn two incomes and have a family at the same time, since one person would always be home to look after the children. The Society for Research on Women (1979) also observed that in their sample Pacific Island women often worked alternate full time shifts with their husbands in order to keep two jobs going and bring up their children under their own supervision.

> "Night shift is the only time that suits me. It was too hard on my husband when he was the only one working, but I had to get a job to fit in with his times".

> "I like night shift because of the children. I come home and prepare them for school and then go to sleep. I do the housework in the afternoon and then have some time with my children and family. Then I have the rest of my sleep before I go to work. Often there's overtime as well so the money's quite good".

Of the New Zealand born women only two worked nights, and one of those women was only doing so on a temporary basis. However another three were nurses who worked shifts and so were sometimes involved in night work. As has been seen, in general, the problems of childcare are not as pressing for the New Zealand born women. Often their mothers were the primary childminders for the grandchildren, with sisters also assisting in many cases. Those women who were working nights were women who did not have the access to such a kin network. For these women, as with the Island born women, the night shift was seen as a convenient way of handling childcare difficulties.

It is interesting to note that of the twenty-three married women interviewed, only

one had a husband who was working night shift and she was not in paid work. It is clear that when both husband and wife are involved in paid work, it is the woman who works night shift so that she is available for childcare and domestic labour during the day. A similar trend has been observed among West Indian women in Britain (Bruegel 1989).

5.5 The 'Double Burden'

It is clear from the analysis in this chapter that the Island born women undertake paid work because of the economic aims of migration and their social position in New Zealand. The result has been that in New Zealand many Island born Samoan women are participating in production even though the changes in the sexual division of labour in Western Samoa which accompanied capitalist development resulted in the women being primarily allocated reproductive roles. The conflict between the two roles has already been alluded to in discussions about the difficulties of childcare but the problem is far greater. While the primary focus of this thesis is the participation of Samoan women in the paid labour force, in this section the implications that this participation has for the lives of the women as a whole will be discussed briefly.

Many Island born women are trying to reconcile two roles which are increasingly at odds. They are forced to assume the responsibility not only for a paid job but are also expected to be solely responsible for all the domestic work, including childcare. While there have been changes in some families, the result for many women is a formidable double burden. The following case study illustrates the point.

> **Case study**
>
> F. is a 33 year old migrant who has been living in New Zealand for sixteen years. She has three children and is expecting another soon. She works full time on a permanent night shift from 11.30pm to 7.30am and often there is some overtime avaliable. She comes home from work, gets the children out of bed and prepares them for school before having a few hours sleep. She does her housework in the afternoon and prepares

> the evening meal after the children have arrived home from school. After dinner she has another couple of hours sleep before getting up to go to work. The work she does at the factory is quite heavy and there is a lot of lifting. Although she is pregnant (and lost a baby last year) she is determined to keep her job for as long as she can as her family can not live on her husbands wage, let alone send money back to Samoa. When I asked if her husband helped around the house she laughed. Her reply was "He has his own bits and pieces but he wouldn't help around the house - thats the females work." However she then commented, "Thats the way I like it. I'd rather have him doing his things while I look after the kids."

It should be noted that this woman is typical of the Island born women in that they did not challenge the key aspects of this sexual division of labour. While most of the women wanted their men, husbands and brothers, to help more around the house, most felt that women should retain primary responsibility for the household. Housework and childcare were seen as the domain of the woman while the man's domestic role was 'outside' in the garden. Although many acknowledged the double burden of responsibility for domestic and paid work, they focused the blame for this on the absence of close kin and not on the sex role system which assigns the major childrearing burden on women.

In contrast the New Zealand born women perceived quite clearly the difficult situation of their mothers.

> "Because I was brought up so strongly fa'aSamoa I could only ever marry a Samoan but the other side of me didn't want to marry a traditional Samoan man who would expect me to be at home. A lot of the time if the woman is working it is only because she has to, but then she has to come home and do all that work as well. At home that was OK but here in New Zealand lots of women are doing two jobs. Some couples brought up in the traditional way have had to change but for the majority, the woman carries a heavy load."

Although the women of this generation still appear to do most of the domestic

work, their men were usually forced to help. There is a clear recognition, by the women at least, that there is no alternative when the women are in paid work and the children are not old enough to lend a hand. Thus the way in which the sexual division of labour manifests itself continues to change under the impact of different circumstances. Far from being some immutable given, the form of the sexual division of labour is constantly being transformed and recreated as social and economic change occur.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the labour force participation of New Zealand born and Island born Samoan women has been considered. Not only do the migrant Island born women have a greater tendency to be involved in the paid workforce, they tend to work more hours and are also are more often working anti-social hours. They are forced by financial imperatives to take up paid work, and the problems of childcare mean that they have to be flexible about the hours they work. Thus, because of their economic and social position, they comprise a workforce willing to work both intensively and flexibly.

In contrast the minority New Zealand born women, because they do not have the same high level of financial commitments, are able to enjoy paid work more for the intrinsic benefit of that work. The reduced level of financial commitment also means that they do not feel compelled to do the extra hours which characterized the labour force participation of the Island born women. Further the difficulties of childcare have been lessened as new kin networks develop in the New Zealand context.

Chapter Six

Occupation, Industry and Incomes

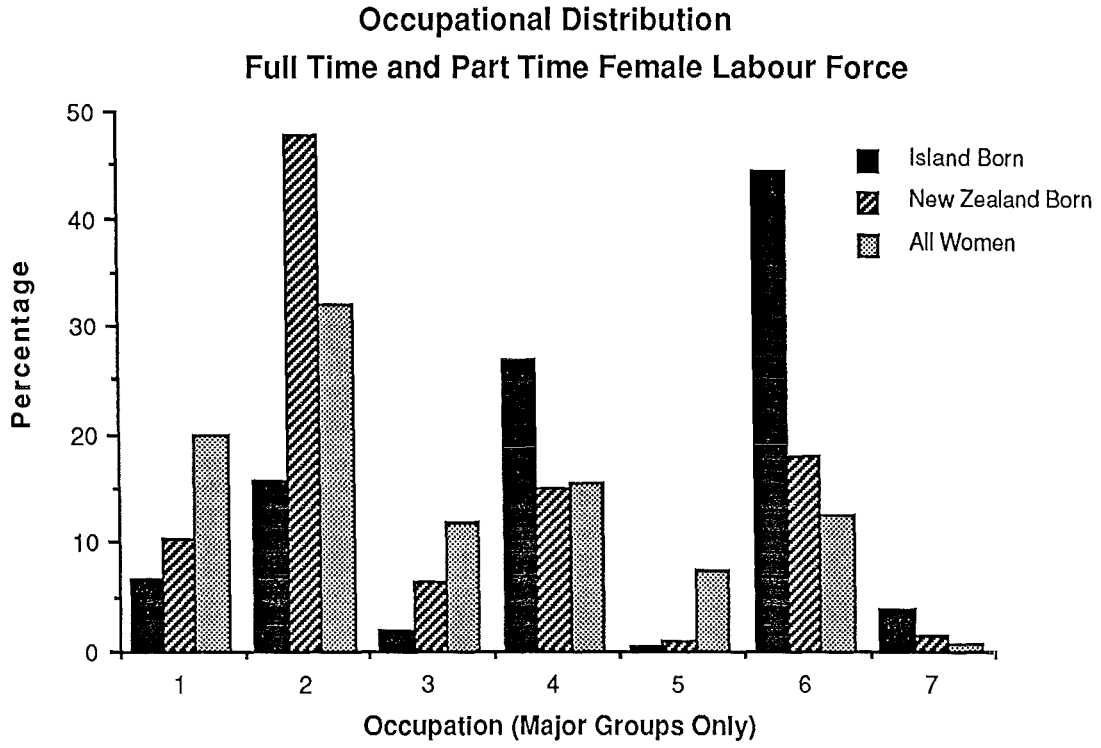
It was suggested in Chapter three that during the immediate post war period Samoan migrants were a source of additional labour for the New Zealand economy at a time when the number of indigenous workers was insufficient. They were also replacement workers in the sense that they took up unskilled occupations in the labour market which had been vacated by indigenous workers who were moving into better paid, and more skilled, white collar jobs as employment opportunities expanded. The female component of the migration stream constituted a highly attractive form of labour power for unskilled jobs in those manufacturing industries which had a demand for female workers.

In this chapter the nature of the jobs undertaken by Samoan women in New Zealand during the current period of economic recession and subsequent restructuring will be considered. This will involve a discussion of industrial and occupational distributions, skill groups, work histories and wage levels. The aim of this chapter is to establish the position Island born Samoan women occupy in the labour market now that the period of mass labour migration has evolved in to a period of permanent settlement. The position in the labour market occupied by the second generation of New Zealand born Samoan women will also be considered in order to see how these women are responding to the structure of constraints and opportunities they confront in the New Zealand labour market.

6.1 Employment Patterns

Figure 6.1 shows the occupational breakdown for New Zealand born and Island born Samoan women as compared to all women. Two thirds of the women in New Zealand involved in paid work are in three occupational groups: clerical and related work; personal services; and welfare and health jobs (Horsfield 1988).

Figure 6.1

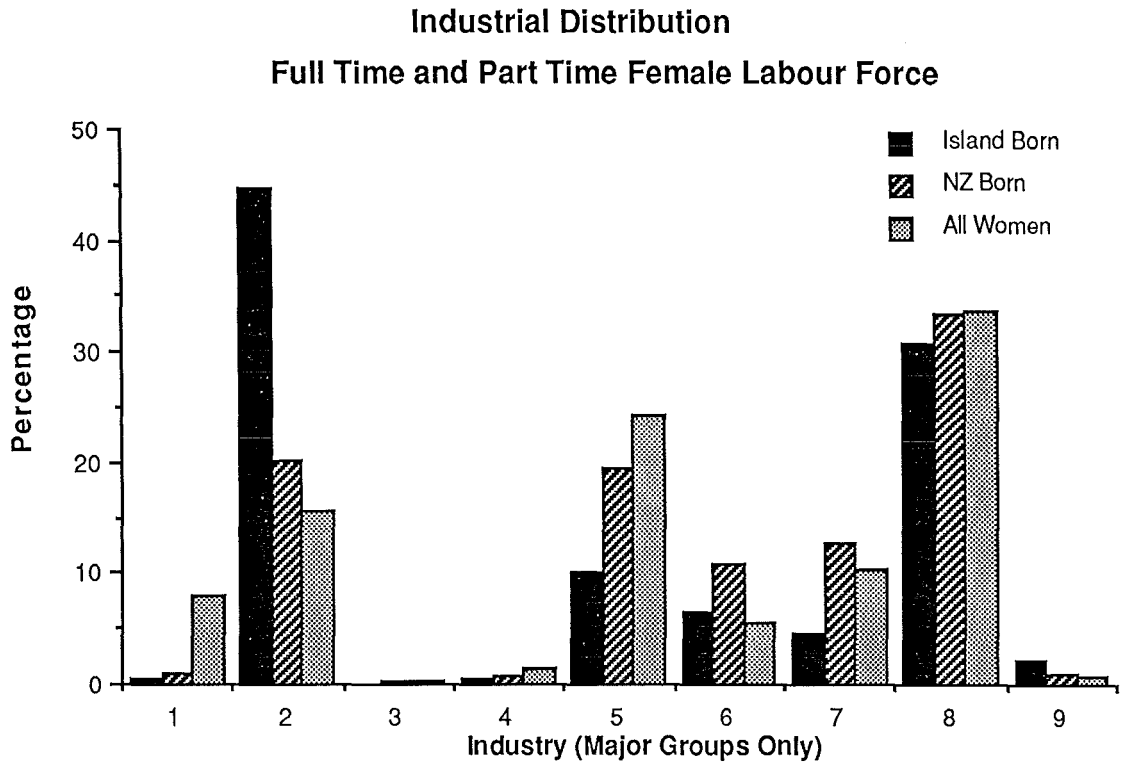


Occupation Groups

1. Professional, Technical and Related Workers, Administrative and Managerial Workers
2. Clerical and Related Workers
3. Sales Workers
4. Service Workers
5. Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen (sic) and Hunters
6. Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers
7. Not Adequately Defined

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, Published and unpublished tables

Figure 6.2



Industry Groups

1. Agriculture, Hunting, Fishing and Forestry, Mining and Quarrying
2. Manufacturing
3. Electricity, Gas and Water
4. Building and Construction
5. Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels
6. Transport, Storage and Communications
7. Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services
8. Community, Social and Personal services
9. Not Adequately Defined

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, Published and unpublished Tables

If the occupational distribution of Samoan women workers in New Zealand is compared with that for all women it can be seen that while the broad pattern of occupational segregation still exists for the two Samoan groups, there are also some important differences. Island born Samoan women are over-represented in the unskilled occupational category of 'production and related workers'. The percentage of Island born women in this category is over 44% compared with 14% of all women. The New Zealand born women are also highly represented in this category although not nearly as much as the Island born women. The Island born women are strongly represented in service work, whereas the New Zealand born women are more concentrated in clerical work. Both groups of women are under-represented in all other categories.

A similar pattern arises when the industrial distribution of Samoan women is compared to that for all women (Figure 6.2). Women workers are heavily concentrated in three classes of industry: manufacturing; trade; and community, social and personal services. Relatively few women are employed in heavier industries or in the traditionally male areas of electricity, gas and water, and building and construction. While Samoan women workers are also predominantly concentrated in the same three groups as all women, again there is even more concentration for Samoan women than for women in general.

Before explanations for these distinctive employment patterns are considered it should be noted that the occupational and industrial categories used in the census must be treated with caution. As a result of the legacy of sexist bias, occupational categories tend to differentiate finely between levels of men's work but aggregate together widely different types of work for women. This occurs because the census categories were never intended to measure the differentiation between women (Bruegel 1989). Some of the occupational units, for example 'clerical workers' or 'nurses', actually cover a very wide range of levels of skill and responsibility. This point will be emphasised later in the discussion when the labour force position of Samoan nurses is considered. Bearing this in mind, attention is now focused on the reasons for the employment patterns of Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women.

6.2 'Women's Work'

The first important point to arise from Figures 6.1 and 6.2 is that there is an obvious similarity in the work performed by the two groups of women of Samoan descent; they are all jobs in the sectors of the labour market which are traditionally defined as 'women's work.' It has long been recognized that there are rigid sexual divisions within the labour market, whether divided by industry or occupation, and that those jobs which are defined as women's work invariably command lower rates of pay, status and skill (Barron and Norris 1976, Barrington 1981, Smith 1983 and 1986).

In the course of the interviews it became clear that while the majority of the women recognized that a sexual division of labour existed within the labour market, they did not challenge it. Few of the women interviewed were doing, or had done in the past, a job which was not a 'woman's job'. In fact the appropriateness of certain jobs for women was specifically discussed by one woman. She was talking about her daughters, one of whom wants to work with computers and the other wants to be an engineer.

> "But those are men's jobs. Why don't they want to do nice jobs like clerical work or nursing - those are good jobs for women."

This woman's perception was typical in that 'good' jobs were almost always seen as those in the professions traditionally dominated by large numbers of women; nursing and teaching being the two most commonly mentioned.

However amongst the women interviewed there were few who occupied these'good' jobs (Table 6.1). Most were involved in unskilled and semiskilled work. Within production work for example, the women were concentrated in the unskilled jobs within that sector. Only one of the eleven women who were working in manufacturing was in a supervisory position; she was a charge hand, and the remainder were on the factory floor as machinists, electronic assembly workers and process workers. These jobs are characterised by repetitive monotonous work, low pay and an unpleasant working environment.

Table 6.1: Occupations of Women Involved in Paid Work

	NZ Born *N=16* (a)	Island Born *N=17*
Professional	Enrolled Nurse (2) Registered Nurse (1) Youth Worker (1) Journalist (1)	Enrolled Nurse (2) Probation Officer (1) Teacher (1) Technician (1)
'White Blouse' Workers	Secretary (2) Clerk (2)	Clerk (1) Data Entry Operator (2)
Service Workers	Hairdresser (1) Nurse Aide (1) Cleaner (2) Waitress (1)	Cleaner (1)
Production Workers	Process Worker (2) Fabric Layer (1)	Charge Hand (1) Process Worker (4) Machinist (2) Textile Worker (1)

(a) One of the New Zealand born women held two jobs.

From: Interviews

Similarly, the women working in clerical jobs were all in the lower levels of these jobs. They were holding unskilled and semiskilled positions such as clerks and data entry operators. Again these jobs were characterized by routine tasks and relatively low pay. The skills involved in these jobs usually meant little more than

brief on-the-job training which did not impart a marketable skill. (Castles et al 1984).

These initial impressions were confirmed by Table 6.2 which categorises the female labour force by skill groups. It would appear that not only are Samoan women workers concentrated in certain sectors of the labour market, they are over-represented in the less skilled jobs within those sectors, although the occupational distinctions between the two groups are evident.

Clearly then, while all Samoan women workers suffer discrimination in the labour market on the basis of their sex, there is further occupational and industrial crowding of Samoan women within the sexually divided labour market.

6.3 Island born Women

For the Island born women one of the most significant determinants of their subordinate position in the New Zealand labour market appears to be the context within which migration takes place. It has long been recognized that Samoan migration to New Zealand is a classic chain migration in that intending migrants usually obtain their first jobs in New Zealand through relatives or friends who have already migrated. As a result, the concentration of Island born women in unskilled and semi-skilled positions in the manufacturing sector has been self-perpetuating.

This is partly a result of the legal framework within which migration takes place. Officially, intending migrants entering under the quota system must have a guarantee of employment before they can gain an entry permit. This guarantee must make a specific offer of employment for the person named which is subsequently checked by the Labour Department before the application is approved and forwarded to the High Commission in Apia. Most intending migrants secure a work permit through members of their family who are already in New Zealand. Because of the difficulty of securing these employment guarantees an established migrant is usually in no position to offer a choice of jobs, nor can the intending migrant ask for one (Pitt and MacPherson 1974). As a result the guarantees tend to be for jobs for which there are no New Zealand recruits. For all

Table 6.2: Skill groups of Women of Samoan Descent In New Zealand

(Percentages)

	NZ Born	Island Born
Professional, Technical, Managerial and Supervisory[a]		
15-19	3.9	2.9
20-24	13.1	4.6
25-29	27.7	8.1
30-39	28.4	10.3
40+	23.8	12.4
Other Clerical, Sales and Service Workers[b]		
15-19	74.7	52.2
20-24	67.1	41.3
25-29	56.2	41.6
30-39	54.5	42.4
40+	47.6	44.6
Agricultural, Forestry, Fishing, Production, Equipment Operators, Labourers[c]		
15-19	19.5	40.4
20-24	18.8	47.8
25-29	16.2	47.1
30-39	14.8	43.1
40+	23.8	40.1
Not Adequately Defined		
15-19	1.9	3.7
20-24	1.0	6.1
25-29	0.1	3.2
30-39	1.1	4.3
40+	0.0	2.8

(a) Group 1. Persons employed in professional, technical, managerial, executive and supervisory jobs (NZSCO codes 0110-1990, 2011-2199, 3001-3109, 4001-4229, 5001-5109, 6000, 7010-7099)

(b) Group 2. Other clerical, service and sales workers

(c) Group 3. Agricultural, forestry, fishing, production and related workers, equipment operators and labourers.

Apparent errors due to rounding

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, Unpublished tables

of the Island born women interviewed who had had employment guarantees on their arrival in New Zealand this meant undertaking unskilled factory work.

For those women who did not have employment guarantees on arrival recruitment into the New Zealand labour force tended to take place in a similar fashion and new migrants joined their relatives on the factory floor. It was widely recognized by these women that factory work is readily avaliable for Samoan women and because of the financial pressures faced by Island born, discussed in the previous chapter, there is usually little opportunity to search for other types of work should they desire it. Relative priority is attached to immediate earning potential and this is often at the expense of a possible gain in status (Pitt and MacPherson 1974).

> "I was working for four years as a senior shorthand typist in Apia. When I came here I thought I would look for whatever job I could find so that I could pay my expenses. So I worked in a factory as a machine operator making plastic bags."

> "I wanted to work at the hospital as a nurse aide but for all those jobs I had to wait for a while. So I ended up working in an electronics factory."

MacPherson (1975) has observed how this recruitment process ensures that the employer is not only getting capable employees but also is having them trained at Samoan expense in that the longer term migrant introduces the newcomer to factory work and is able to explain things in the Samoan language. The widespread use of these informal channels of recruitment mean that it is quite likely that the workforces of certain factories will have high concentrations of Samoan workers.

> "When I first started at --- there were only a few Samoan girls. Then they asked us if we had any relatives who needed jobs. Now the majority of the workers there are dark skinned. They said that they prefer to employ us because we are good workers. When we are told to do something we just do it and don't argue."

One of the other results of this pattern of recruitment is that many Island born women are tied to their jobs by more than simply a cash nexus. Because the jobs are obtained through family and community connections, it would not do to complain about the terms and conditions of employment because, in part, this would reflect

badly on those who had introduced the woman to the employer (Hoel 1982).

> "I remember when I first started work I always felt like I had to behave and earn their trust because my auntie was there and she had got me the job. All the other Samoan ladies working there, they had reputations as being good workers and so I felt like I had to work really hard too."

I was told of one factory with a large number of migrant employees many of whom attended a nearby church with a large Samoan congregation. There were reports of employees being encouraged to work harder with the threat that otherwise the minister would be told. Obviously this is not a hard and fast rule, but it does serve to point out that cash relationships can be overlaid with others which tend to reinforce certain types of work behaviour.

The other area in which the Island born women were heavily concentrated was in the service sector. This sector has been expanding rapidly in recent decades, both in absolute terms and as a share of total employment. Most of the unskilled jobs in this sector are overwhelmingly dominated by women workers and frequently involve tasks derivative of housework; for example work associated with food, clothing and cleaning, and work which involves caring for the young and the sick. As Horsfield says 'Women not only clean the homes of the nation they also clean the offices and other paid workplaces' (1988:18). These jobs, like the factory jobs occupied by Island born women tend to involve manual work, unsocial hours and unpleasant conditions.

The opportunities for employment in the service sector were widely recognized by the Island born women involved in the study, although for many factory work was seen as being preferable to the ill paid casual jobs they were able to obtain in this sector. To a certain extent employment in these positions was seen as a last resort; an option to be utilised when no others were available.

> "Well if the worst comes to the worst, I know I can always get a cleaning job. Its just a basic job because its one of those jobs where you just get on with it and do it, and it doesn't pay very well, but at least its a job."

Those women who did have employment in the service sector stressed that the advantage of these jobs was the flexibility of the hours involved. Often it was necessary to work in the evenings or on shift, and so these jobs could be combined more easily with childcare responsibilities than could a full time factory job.

Again, most of the jobs the women held in this sector were located through kin. In fact, amongst the all Island born women this was accepted as the most effective way of locating a job. Of the seventeen women presently engaged in paid work, thirteen of them had got their present jobs through personal contacts; in particular through female relatives such as mothers, aunts and sisters.

> "I've never bothered to apply for jobs, I just put the word out to my family and get a job through word of mouth."

Graves (1984) has also commented that Pacific Island Polynesian women in general tend to rely on relatives for job opportunities. This finding is in contrast to that of Pitt and MacPherson (1974) who claim that while the migrant is likely to depend on the kin group almost entirely for securing their first job, there is usually some correlation between length of residence and dependence on kin. Amongst the Island born women involved in this study there was no such correlation.

6.3.1 Professional Island Born Women

While a detailed breakdown of occupations is not available from the census data produced for this study it seems probable that a high number of the Island born women categorized as 'professional' are nurses. Nursing is an anomalous category of labour. On the one hand it is relatively high in the hospital hierarchy of prestige and skill, forming the backbone of medical care. On the other hand it has many of the characteristics of a low status job - unsocial hours, sometimes disagreeable work and low pay. Further the nature of nursing has changed significantly, particularly in the post war period, and the nursing work force itself has become highly stratified and differentiated. There has been the creation of a labour force divided between career nurses on one hand and deskilled enrolled nurses on the other hand.

There is evidence to suggest that Island born Samoan nurses are concentrated in

subordinate and unpopular positions within the career structure of this profession, and also that they are over-represented in the least desirable sectors of nursing, such as geriatric nursing. Thus it would appear that the role of Island born nurses is broadly similar to that of Island born Samoan women in the broader economy (Doyal et al 1978, Phizacklea 1983). They are concentrated in subordinate and unpopular positions within the career structure of the profession doing jobs for which there are few indigenous recruits.

The experiences of the two Island born nurses in the sample accord with this pattern. Both were enrolled nurses and both were working night shifts. One had been unable to get enrolled nursing work when she finished her training and had been working as a nurse aide.

> "It was the only vacancy but it was ridiculous me working as a nurse aide. I rung (hospital) but they had no vacancies however they took my name. The next day they rang back and asked me to go in for an interview. I had applied to do two nights a week but they could only offer me four. *At the time they had just put off a lot of nurses,* so I took what was offered and after a year I cut back to three nights a week" (emphasis mine)

6.4 New Zealand Born Women

The employment pattern of the New Zealand born women also finds its origins in the migration process, albeit indirectly, in that it would appear that these women are reacting against the position of their mothers in the economic hierarchy. Most of the New Zealand born women expressed preference for non manual positions and in this way were indicating their preference for a different set of jobs to those held by their mothers and migrant Samoans in general. If a listing of the distribution of jobs held by the parents of the New Zealand born women interviewed is considered this can be seen clearly (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Jobs held by Parents of New Zealand born Women

	Fathers *N=22*	Mothers *N=22*
Professional	1	1
Clerical	1	2
Service	1	5
Production	19	14

From: Interviews

Comments such as that which follows were common.

> "Mum's a cleaner at the Post Office and shes a bloody good one too. Thats where I get my touch from. Dad's a process worker in a brush factory. Dad always said he wanted to have a nurse and a minister in the family, But I think what he really means is that he wants us to have a good future. They go on about how they don't want us to have to struggle like they did, and they wouldn't even hear of us working in a factory."

These sentiments were reinforced during my discussions with the Island born women who expressed their hopes and aspirations for their children.

> "I tell the girls about their options - to have a secretarial job or even to be an accountant is the best job. They have so many options to choose from. This is their future and I don't want them to have to work in a factory like I have."

As a result there has been a clear attempt by the New Zealand born women to move into 'white blouse' work. Here lies much of the explanation for the distinct difference in occupational patterns between the two generations. The desirability of an office job seemed to be based on the notion that non-manual work is of a

higher status than manual work and that more 'security' was offered by the 'white blouse' sectors (West 1982, Dex 1983).

It should be noted that despite the fact that a higher status may be attached to 'white blouse' work, in real terms such a move does not necessarily represent occupational mobility nor an improvement in pay. This fact was recognized by only one of the women interviewed.

> "Dad was expecting me to get a good job - like in an office, but I could never dress up and be all la-di-da. Besides the money from the office is just the same as the money from the factory."

The degree of supervision and control, lack of work autonomy, extent of predetermined tasks and sexual division of labour in low level clerical work are fundamentally the same as for factory work (Collins 1988). Furthermore, recent commentators have pointed to the ongoing deskilling of clerical work, a process which has been enormously accelerated by the widespread introduction of computer technology and electronic data processing (Braverman 1974, Crompton et al 1982, West 1982).

As a result of their desire for non-manual work the New Zealand born women tended to favour the use of formal channels in order to obtain their jobs. This enabled them to have access to a wider range of jobs than could be provided by either their own or their parent's contacts. Thus there was wider use of employment avenues such as the Department of Labour, Situations Vacant columns in newspapers, and employment agencies.

Despite the desire of the New Zealand born women for non-manual work it would appear that in practice, these women face considerable difficulties in their attempts to find 'white blouse' work. Many spoke of long periods of unemployment while they were seeking office jobs. Two of the three women doing production work had either been previously employed as clerical workers, or had been trained for such a position but had given up looking and resigned themselves to employment in the manufacturing sector.

> "I couldn't find a clerical job and so thats why I started work at ---. I was so depressed while I was out of work and I was starting to think I would never get a job. I had always vowed I would never do a factory job, but I was pretty disillusioned after nine months and I knew I could get work at --- (her mother worked there). The thought of doing factory work was pretty horrible but the thought of being out of work was worse so thats why I've stayed on there."
>
> "You can get a factory job anytime but when it comes to clerical work its really hard, employers just don't want to know you."

For many of these women the choice was between unskilled manual work and no work at all. Although they are unwilling to reproduce their mother's position, there is often no alternative (Castles et al 1984).

6.5 Work Histories

The distinctive differences in the employment patterns of the New Zealand born and Island born women are emphasized when work history data are considered. An analysis of work histories shows that pregnancy was the most common reason given by the Island born women for leaving all jobs held since migration, followed by other reasons associated with their role in the family, such as unsatisfactory childcare arrangements, or a husbands transfer. For most of these women the time spent out of the paid work was brief. Rather than staying out of the labour market after childbirth they tended to re-enter the labour force as soon as possible and many went back to the companies they had previously worked for.

> "I'm pregnant at the moment, but I'll just take maternity leave and then go straight back. We just can't live on one income."

There was a remarkably long average length of employment among these women. The average time without a break for their present jobs was five years and four months. For jobs held in the past the average was three years and ten months. The high level of job stability that these figures indicate is a well documented characteristic of the Pacific Island labour force in New Zealand (Pitt and MacPherson 1974, NZDL 1979, Gibson 1983, Bedford and Gibson 1986).

In contrast to the Island born women, the New Zealand born women have a much

shorter average duration in employment. The average length of employment without a break was two years and eleven months, and for jobs held in the past the figure was less than a year. The most common reason given by these women for leaving a paid job was dissatisfaction with that job. Reasons for dissatisfaction included bad hours, poor pay, bad employers and boredom.

> "I left there because it wasn't what I wanted. I don't like factory work - there is no career in it and its dirty work. You are there for one thing and that is to work."

This category was followed by jobs left because they were seen as being only temporary or casual to begin with.

> "I was moving around for a couple of years and I had lots of short term jobs in factories. I worked for a few months in each place and then got sick of it and left. I never really enjoyed any of those jobs."

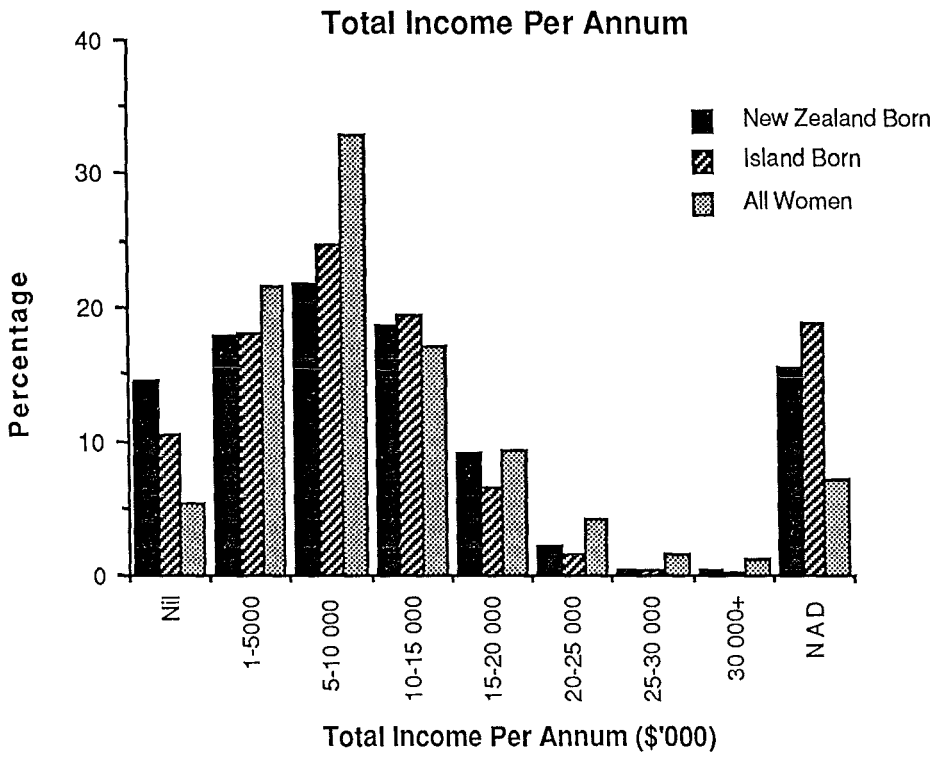
Clearly the New Zealand born women are far more likely to leave a job with which they are not happy. Whereas few of the Island born women were critical of their jobs, emphasising instead the positive aspects of paid employment, most particularly the money they earned, but also the companionship which accompanies participation in paid work, the New Zealand born women were quite open about the tedium and monotony which characterises many of their jobs.

6.5 Incomes

Predictably, the patterns of occupational segregation and hierarchy noted above have very clear implications for the wages and earnings of Samoan women in New Zealand (Figure 6.3). Both the Island born women and the New Zealand born women are distinguished by a far narrower range of wages than women in general. It would appear that even though their categories of work differ, to some extent the rates of pay are similar.

However this discussion needs to be seen in the context of the earlier discussion about the levels of overtime and shiftwork undertaken by the Island born women. These women work longer hours than both New Zealand born Samoan women

Figure 6.3



From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, published and unpublished tables

and women in general. Once this factor is taken into consideration, the relative earning position of Island born Samoan women in the New Zealand labour market starts to look very different.

Further it has been pointed out by MacPherson (1977) that an income must be related to the number of people it must support and that there is a danger in assuming that parity in income distribution will produce similar standards of living. Pacific Island per capita income is much lower than that of the Pakeha population because of high dependency ratios and also because of remittances being sent to Samoa.

Methods of payment are also relevant to this discussion. The majority of the women interviewed, both Island born and New Zealand born, were being paid on an hourly

rate. Further, most of the production workers involved in the study were being paid on some sort of bonus system whereby the harder they worked the more they got paid. Payment by result is particularly common in factories using mass production methods, within which Samoan women workers are highly concentrated. It reflects an attempt by employers to increase the work intensity of their employees, and in this case appears to be particularly effective.

> "The Samoans are hard workers. They are the ones who earn lots of money through bonuses. I reckon about 80% of Samoans on the floor get bonuses and often the Palangis don't get any."
>
> "The Samoan girls always get a bonus. They think we are good workers because of that"

6.6 Conclusion

The employment pattern of Samoan women in New Zealand is distinctively different from that of all women. While Samoan women suffer from sexual categorization which means that they are confined to those sectors of the labour market defined as 'women's work', there are clearly additional factors which operate to further constrain their employment options.

The Island born women are recruited specifically to fill postions in the lower levels of the labour market rejected by indigenous workers. Island born Samoan women are concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled positions in the manufacturing and service sectors which are rewarded with low rates of pay. Because of their economic and social position in New Zealand the women have little option about filling these positions. They have a very clear conception of what sorts of jobs are available to them in the New Zealand labour force and this influences them to search for work accordingly. As a result employers are provided with a capable, undemanding labour force which is prepared to work hard. That the majority of these women are now settled permanently in New Zealand seems to have done little to change their function within the labour market. The New Zealand born women have reacted against the position of their mothers in the New Zealand labour market. This is evident in their preference for non-manual work. As a result

the New Zealand born women also tend to occupy low skilled, low waged positions but they are not so obviously occupationally concentrated in comparison to the Island born women.

However this does not explain adequately the distinctive changes in employment patterns between the two generations of Samoan women. An analysis of the migration process does not explain why it is that Island born women tend not to move out of unskilled manufacturing work once they have become established in New Zealand. Further, the empirical evidence suggests that despite the attempts of the second generation to become occupationally mobile, the concentration of Samoan women in unskilled positions in the manufacturing sector is being reproduced. On the whole the New Zealand born women still have a subordinate position in the labour market. Clearly there is need for additional explanation. This will be the task in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven

Education, Exclusion, Unemployment and Unions

In Chapter six it was argued that the distinctive employment patterns of Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women could not be explained solely with reference to the migration process. It was suggested that there must be further factors not yet considered in the discussion. In this chapter empirical discussion of the employment patterns of Island born Samoan women and New Zealand born Samoan women will be extended.

Education levels and training are obviously factors that need to be taken into consideration in any discussion of employment. It will be shown that the skills and qualifications of Samoan women are being underutilized in the New Zealand labour market. This leads into a discussion of the effect of racial exclusion on employment opportunities. Levels of unemployment will be considered in the next section of the chapter and the experiences of New Zealand born and Island born Samoan women will be compared. The last part of the chapter will discuss unionization.

7.1 Education and Training

In an economic system which emphasizes the importance of qualifications, skills and training, those who lack such things are likely to be confined to certain sectors of the labour market because they will need to find work consistent with their training and educational qualifications (Phizacklea and Miles 1980). Those who enter the job market with official certification should therefore enjoy an advantage over those who do not and the higher the level of certification the higher the advantage.

Table 7.1 gives an overview of the educational attainment of both Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women.

Table 7.1: Educational Qualifications of Women in New Zealand

(Percentages)

	Samoan Women		All Women
	NZ Born	Island Born	
No School Qualifications			
15-19	42.4	48.0	37.9
20-24	26.8	37.4	28.9
25-29	33.0	44.6	32.8
30-39	39.9	55.7	43.0
40+	50.0	70.5	60.4
School Qualifications above SC			
15-19	21.5	14.8	28.1
20-24	42.4	20.1	41.2
25-29	35.7	16.5	36.7
30-39	27.1	10.7	27.9
40+	15.0	5.1	15.6
Tertiary Qualifications			
15-19	9.8	5.6	7.7
20-24	25.6	18.8	28.4
25-29	26.7	17.7	33.9
30-39	28.6	14.8	33.2
40+	25.0	12.5	20.4

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, published and unpublished tables

It is clear from Table 7.1 that many Island born women lack the education that is often necessary for occupational mobility. Most migrants come to New Zealand with only eight or nine years of schooling. Their English language skills are variable and most find that the English they learn in school in Western Samoa is quite different to that which is spoken in day-to-day life in New Zealand (Graves and Graves 1977, Haman 1978, NZDL 1979).

However if Table 7.2 is considered it is clear that the Island born Samoan women living in New Zealand are on the whole better educated than their counterparts in Western Samoa.

Table 7.2: Educational Attainment of Women in Western Samoa Aged 15 Years and Over

(Percentages)

Some Primary	Some Secondary	Some Tertiary
97.1	26.4	1.9

From: Thomas and Hill (1987)

Furthermore, the findings of the interviews suggest that the figures in Table 7.1 should be treated with caution. It is possible that this table considerably underestimates the amount of vocational training undertaken by Island born Samoan women in New Zealand. For example, while seven of the Island born women interviewed had a recognized tertiary qualification, another five had done some vocational training, usually night classes at Polytech. This factor was also mentioned by a number of people I spoke with in the early stages of the research who suggested that it might be difficult to find a time when the women in the age group I wanted to interview would be avaliable as many were not only working long hours but were also involved in night classes.

The importance placed on education is often referred to in research on the Samoan population in New Zealand, especially in the work of Pitt and MacPherson (1974). They emphasize the desire of migrant parents to give their children opportunities which had not been avaliable in Western Samoa. Many Samoan migrants make a considerable effort to give their children a good education. A number of the Island born women involved in the study were having their children privately educated, and I was told of a family who had sold their television so that the children could be put through university.

This emphasis on education arises because it is seen as the way to obtain a 'good' job (Jones 1987). However although education is seen as a priority, often financial pressures mean that it must be curtailed.

> "I left school during the Sixth form because my parents needed the money. I talked to my parents and they wanted me to work but I wanted to stay at school."

In addition a number of the New Zealand born women had found the education system in New Zealand alienating and had experienced considerable difficulties during their schooling. Graves and Graves (1983) note that in general Pacific Island Polynesians suffer severe structural and psychological disadvantages in New Zealand schools.

> "I left in the first term of the Fifth form. I was asked to leave more or less but that was OK because I really hated it. I was always getting detentions because I didn't have the full uniform. But they (the school) never realised the reason was because Mum and Dad just couldn't afford it. Then because I got detentions I had to stay after school, but Mum and Dad expected me to be home because I was the oldest and had to look after the others and get tea on. So they'd be angry too - it was just awful."

Thus, although New Zealand born women are more likely than Island born women to attain some sort of formal qualification, levels of achievement remain lower than that for women in New Zealand as a whole.

It would seem that in more recent years young Samoan women are more likely to stay on at school. This higher retention rate means that they will be able to attain better educational qualifications than their predecessors. Of course part of the reason for this higher retention rate is the declining employment prospect for young people (Jones 1987).

Although the lack of recognized skills reinforces the so-called 'disadvantages' that Samoan women bring with them into the labour market, it cannot be used as an explanatory variable, even though it may act as an objective constraint to the employment options of some of the women (Phizacklea 1983). Many of the women interviewed, both Island born and New Zealand born, were working in jobs well below those which they were qualified to do. The most striking example was

the most highly qualified woman in the sample, who had trained as a lawyer but had been unable to get a position as such and was now working as a probation officer. Other examples included a trained teacher who was working as a cleaner, a Samoan trained nurse who was unable to obtain paid employment, and women with clerical skills who were working in unskilled manufacturing positions.

Further it should be noted that Island born women with high qualifications usually experience downward occupational mobility on their arrival in New Zealand.

> "I was working as a clerk in a hotel in Apia before I came here. I took UE because I thought it would help me when I moved here. When I arrived I put in applications for clerical jobs but it wasn't the same for me as it was for those who had been to school here so I started work at the factory with my sister."

For some of the women skills learned in Western Samoa were either not recognized or were deemed inadequate to the demands in a more highly developed capitalist economy. Nursing and teaching certificates are examples of two qualifications attainable in Western Samoa which are not recognized in New Zealand.

> "I trained as a teacher in the islands but my qualifications aren't recognized here so I got a job working as a teachers aide. Once I had saved enough money I went to Teachers College and did the extra two years which meant I could teach here."

Since 1976 a government sponsored retraining programme has made it possible for teachers, and later nurses, to become qualified to practise their professions in New Zealand. However only twelve to seventeen women each year have been through these training programmes. It would seem that many of the women eligible for this programme are unwilling, or unable, to give up the paying jobs they have established in the meantime (Graves 1983).

Most of these women are unable to move back up into positions more appropriate to their level of expertise. The evidence is that the skills and qualifications of Samoan women are being both undervalued and underutilised. It seems probable that this degree of 'overqualification' identified arises from racial exclusion.

7.2 Racial exclusion

This was a very difficult issue for a Palangi woman to discuss with Samoan women even though the subject was broached indirectly. When asked if they thought being Samoan had ever made any difference to their experiences in the workplace the women made a variety of responses. Many of the women simply replied "No". "I don't let myself think like that" one woman said, "if I did it would build things up inside me."

Interestingly, for a number of the Island born women, being Samoan was perceived as being an advantage in obtaining paid work. This seemed to be directly related to the fact that these women were involved with unskilled work in the manufacturing sector.

> "At --- they like Samoans, they think we are hard workers and that we concentrate on what we are doing. I think that it helps us to get jobs."
>
> "I've talked to some of the supervisors at work and they reckon that there are less problems with Samoans and that they are hard workers."
>
> "Being Samoan might have helped me get my job. It's an advantage being dark skinned at our work, they've said that they would prefer to employ us because we are good workers. When we are told to do something we just do it and don't argue."

However, once the women attempt to move out of these unskilled positions it would appear that both the practice and the possibility of racial exclusion operate as powerful constraints on the employment patterns of Samoan women. Vertical mobility, either by promotion within a particular job or by appointment to positions requiring specific skills, is generally believed to be very difficult for Pacific Island Polynesians in the New Zealand labour force (Macrae 1979, Spoonley 1976, Gibson 1983).

> "Discrimination still exists here and it is very strong. So many times I have applied for jobs that I know I can fill all the technical aspects and I don't get them. One woman even admitted that it was because I am Samoan. When I go into the interview they just look at me as if I don't know a thing. It's a real problem that our people face. We grow up with knowledge of New Zealand and we know that people have been coming here for years. But they

> never give me a chance beyond looking at me. I never thought New Zealand would be like that. I can understand being rejected because of language, but this...."
>
> "I've noticed that lots of firms take on Europeans, but they think that Islanders and Maoris are not very good. But I can't understand why we are so different. Everyone is the same, thats the way I see it."

Amongst the women interviewed the work history data showed little change in job classifications between previous and current occupations. There was a significant lack of any progression from jobs of less skill to jobs of more skill. When the women changed jobs they tended to do so horizontally not vertically. Pitt and MacPherson (1974) claim that there is a tendency for Samoan workers to reject positions of responsibility and management as this would be seen to cause jealousy and would lead to strains in their attitudes to other workers. This was mentioned explicitly by one of the women interviewed.

> "I had the opportunity to become a leading hand but I'd rather just be a worker. It's too hard when you have to tell your friends what to do. One of my mates became a leading hand and now we are not so close. It goes to their heads when they get to be the boss."

However, as Hill and Brosnan (1986) point out, the attitude of Samoans to such positions may well reflect the attitude of Pakehas to Pacific Island Polynesians in positions of authority.

> "I'm a charge hand, they picked me out because I was capable. It was a bit hard at first though. I was scared because I am shy and also because the others were my friends *and I didn't think they would accept me as a Samoan charge hand.* But it worked out all right and now I have lots of respect and there is a good relationship between me, my workers, and my supervisor." (emphasis mine)

It would seem that difficulty was not only experienced in obtaining jobs or promotion, but also the dynamics within the workplace often appeared to be influenced by racist attitudes. When one woman was asked if there was anything she disliked about her job she replied,

> "My supervisor. Because sometimes she looks down on Samoan girls. But Samoan girls work hard so I don't know why. Sometimes I try to talk to her but she just turns around and talks to the other ladies. The others say not to worry about it but I find it really hard."

Other comments included,

> "There is one particular lady at work who thinks that just because we are Islanders she can boss us around."

> "I had problems with my boss when I was working as a waitress. When I went in he asked me what ethnic group I came from and then after that he always treated me differently to the others. It's hard to describe, but he treated me quite badly. I was made to do most of the cleaning whereas the other girls didn't have to do any of that sort of thing. I mentioned it to Mum and Dad but I don't think they realised how bad it was. When I spoke to him, he just laid me off.'

Relevant to this discussion is the fact that of all the women interviewed who had clerical jobs, only one woman was not employed by either a manufacturing firm with Samoan workers on the factory floor or in a government department. The one exception was a woman who worked as a secretary for a lawyer who specialized in work with the Pacific Island and Maori communities in Christchurch.

In the manufacturing sector often the women had worked their way up from the factory floor. In the government departments a policy of Equal Employment Opportunity was in effect. Equal Employment Opportunity is defined as ' A systematic results orientated set of actions that are directed towards the identification and elimination of discriminatory barriers that cause or perpetuate inequality in the employment of a person or group of persons'. (Report of the Working Group on Equal Employment Opportunity and Equal Pay 1988:10) This policy is widely recognized as providing opportunities for Samoans that do not exist in private industry.

> "Its interesting you know, nearly all the Pacific Islanders who graduated at the same time as me are working in government departments. I know that now they are looking for young Samoan professionals who can understand the language and who can provide that additional perspective."

> "They've had EEO in my department for about a year now so they are very aware of the role of women in the department and also they are trying to encourage biculturalism. I think its sad that they are not going for multi-culturalism but they are still a lot more open minded than lots of other places."

In sum, it would appear that racial exclusion operates as a powerful constraint on the labour force position of Samoan women. The effect of this exclusion is particularly noticable amongst the New Zealand born women because of their attempts at occupational mobility. The effect of racial exclusion on New Zealand born Samoan women is emphasized in the next section in which levels of unemployment are considered.

7.3 Unemployment

The definition and measure of women's unemployment presents a number of difficulties which should be acknowledged before this discussion begins. In addition to the general problems surrounding the definition and measurement of unemployment, there is also the issue of where and how to distinguish between married women whose position as domestic workers precludes them from the status of 'unemployed' and that of married women without paid work who are actively seeking a job (Murgatroyd 1983).

Furthermore, conventional methods of measuring unemployment usually omit 'discouraged workers'. These are the people who would take a job if offered but are not actively searching for one. These 'discouraged workers' would probably not appear in the census as unemployed as the census question asks about job seeking activities. Research from the USA suggests that a higher proportion of men than women fall into this category (Shiskin 1976). The New Zealand Household Labour Force Survey collects information about discouraged job seekers and figures from this survey suggest that as many as 4.4% of women not in the labour force would accept a job if it was offered to them (Horsfield 1988).

It is widely accepted that, during a period of recession and structural crisis such as that being experienced in New Zealand during the 1980s, unskilled workers are most vulnerable to unemployment. This would suggest that the rate of unemployment will be higher for migrant and minority workers than it is for

indigenous workers. (Castles et al 1984). Certainly the figures in Table 7.3 would seem to confirm this.

Table 7.3: Employment Status of Women in New Zealand

	Samoan Women		All Women
	NZ Born	Island Born	
Self employed with employees	0.5	1.3	3.8
Self employed with no employees	1.1	1.3	5.7
Wage and Salary Earners	81.7	83.4	79.0
Relative assisting unpaid	0.5	0.3	2.0
Unemployed and seeking work	16.0	13.0	9.1
Not specified	0.3	0.6	0.4
Total(a)	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Apparent Errors due to rounding

From: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, published and unpublished tables

However, one problem for those who argue that migrant and minority labour is disproportionately disadvantaged by the current economic crisis is that the time horizon of their studies precludes assessment of the most recent, and worst, years of the economic recession (Collins 1988). In mid 1986 there was a further substantial downturn in the New Zealand economy and rising levels of

unemployment were predicted as the Labour government's wide ranging restructuring programme took effect. These predictions were to prove accurate and since this time there has been an overall decline in paid employment particularly in manufacturing. In Christchurch, for example, the number of people employed in the manufacturing sector has dropped from over 38 000 people in March 1986 to an estimated 30 000 in mid 1989 (Canterbury Manufaturers Association estimate). The firms which have been worst affected have tended to be those using mass production methods. These are the firms within which migrant workers are concentrated. It is against these most recent events that the relationship between economic recession and the position of Samoan women in the labour force is best considered.

It is usually assumed that when firm closure and redundancy occur, migrant and minority workers will be disproportionately affected because of their labour force concentration in the manufacturing sector. They will then face greater difficulties in re-entering employment due to the continued prevalence of racial exclusion (Castles et al 1984). Further, any growth in employment since the mid 1980s has tended to be in the skilled occupational categories, especially in the financial services and in computer technology and its applications. These are occupations from which migrant and minority workers are usually excluded (Bedford and Gibson 1986).

However the evidence would suggest that such generalizations should be treated with caution. As the study progressed it became obvious that even in a time of record levels of unemployment the Island born women interviewed had experienced little or no job loss. Unless the firm they were working for closed down completely the women tended to retain their jobs even if their co-workers were forced to leave. Because expansions and contractions, rather than outright closures, account for most of the recent changes in levels of employment (Bollard and Harper 1986), most of the Island born women had retained their jobs .

The reasons for this on one level are connected to the stability of these workers. It would appear that most redundancies are made on the basis of 'last in first out.' Because these women tend to stay in one job rather that moving between jobs

they are usually not affected. A number of Island born women commented on the high turnover of staff in their workplaces.

> "Most of the girls at work are quite young and lots of them come and go quickly; they hardly ever have to sack anyone. And lots of them have gone to Aussie now. So because its a big place they are employing new people all the time. I've been there the longest on my shift, and I've only been there for four years."

Those who remained at home did so, it seemed, out of choice and not because they were unable to gain re-employment. Those women who did change their jobs (for whatever reason) were able to find new employment relatively quickly. As one woman commented,

> "Well if the worst comes to the worst I know I can always get a cleaning job."

However this is not to argue that the recession has not affected Island born Samoan women. The way in which women's employment is being restructured during recent years is complex and it would appear that employers use a variety of mechanisms for achieving flexibility, for example, getting rid of overtime, reducing hours of work and introducing short term work. A number of the Island born women commented on the reduced levels of overtime available to them at present.

Further, because of the current high levels of unemployment among all workers, Island born women may endure bad conditions at work because they are frightened of being made redundant if they complain.

> "I wanted to leave the job at ---. The dust in the air was making me cough. But the others told me that I shouldn't complain because I was lucky to have a job."

In addition the Island born women had often experienced unemployment indirectly as a result of the redundancy of their children or husband. One of the women who refused to see me told me that she was simply too busy. Her husband had been made redundant from his job and was unable to find another. The result was that the full onus of both paid and unpaid work, together with the tension resulting from her husband's unemployment fell on her. The stress resulting from these pressures was all too apparent in our conversation.

In contrast to the Island born women, many of the New Zealand born women had experience of being unemployed. Because these women are more selective about the jobs they are prepared to undertake there was often a considerable period of time between leaving school and obtaining their first job.

> "After I left school I was unemployed for quite a while. I really wanted a nurse aiding job because I wanted to do nursing. I was ringing up lots of places and went along in person as well. A few places put me on their waiting list, but it was months before I got a job. In the end I took a waitressing job while I was waiting ... just to get some money."

> "I've been looking for a clerical job for about six months now, and I only went back to school last year because I couldn't get a job. Sometimes I think I should go and get just any job, but Mum and Dad wouldn't hear of it. They'd rather have me doing courses than out working in a grotty job somewhere."

> "It took me nearly a year to find my job. When I left school I was looking for clerical work or a government department job. I'd really like to go into computers. But I couldn't find any jobs like that, and in the end I had to take what I could get. Thats why I am where I am..." (Process worker in an electronics assembly plant)

In addition it would seem that the New Zealand born women are more likely to experience termination of their jobs once they obtain paid work. Because of their high rate of job turnover the New Zealand born women are far more vulnerable to 'last in - first out' rules when redundancy occurs and they are far more likely to have experienced an involuntary termination of employment (redundancy or firing) than the Island born women.

> "I was made redundant after thirteen months at ---. Seven people were laid off because they said that they had too many staff. They took the last in first off, and so I had to go."

> "When the firm went down they made about sixty people redundant. I was in that sixty people because I hadn't been there very long."

7.4 Unions

It has been argued that it is not just that migrants are cheaper to employ than

indigenous workers, it is also their powerlessness that makes them profitable (Phizacklea and Miles 1980). In order to test this idea it is relevant to look at the attitudes towards industrial organisation amongst the women interviewed.

Of the Island born women involved in paid work, all but two were members of their union. The exceptions were the two most recent migrants to New Zealand and they simply did not know if they were union members or not. Amongst the New Zealand born women who were in the paid labour force again the vast majority were union members. Many of the women, both New Zealand and Island born, explicitly mentioned that they had joined their union under some form of external pressure; compulsory unionization was often referred to. However despite this high level of membership, few of the women knew much about unions and most had a fairly ambivalent attitude towards their activities.

Strikes in particular were often commented on as being a disadvantage of belonging to a union as they were seen as a distraction to the simple business of going out, doing a job, and getting money as quickly and painlessly as possible. This impression is reinforced by Pitt and MacPherson's (1974) observation that because possible earnings in a job matter a great deal to Samoans, they tend to see unions as organizations which can cause a reduction in earnings.

> "The Clerical workers strike last year really hacked me off. I feel as if I get too much money already. Although I belong to the union it was only because I had to, I wouldn't have joined if I had had a choice. I think unions get carried away over money. I worked through the strike last year - my job is really important to me."

In response to questions about their perceptions of the effectiveness of unions, most respondents thought that the union would probably be helpful were they to get into difficulties at their workplace. However it would appear that this perception is not always acted upon. For example two women spoke of incidents at their workplace in which union support would have been both appropriate and helpful, but neither had consulted their union for help. One woman, who had used her union for support in a case of unfair dismissal, had only done so on the prompting of a workmate and still claimed to know little about the way in which

they operated.

> "I went to the union and they done (sic) good for me but I still don't know much about them. This lady I used to work with helped me and she told me what I could do."

There was very little discernable difference between the New Zealand born and Island born women with regards to attitudes towards unions. It would appear that in general the Samoan women in this sample do not look towards trade unions as a means of defending and improving the conditions under which they participate in the waged labour force. This accords with Pitt and MacPherson's (1974) claim that Samoan participation in the Trade Union movement is minimal and that their attitude is generally one of passive resistence.

However reports from other sources suggest that this pattern may not be universal. Gibson (1983), for example, reports that in her discussions with union representatives increased union involvement amongst Pacific Island women was observed. Stubbs (1989) in his work on the privatisation of hospital services has also observed increased militancy among Pacific Island women workers.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the discussion of various aspects of the labour force position of Samoan women in New Zealand has been continued. A number of important issues have been identified. It has been shown that the skills and qualifications of Samoan women are often both undervalued and underutilised. This 'overqualification' is a result of racial exclusion. Clearly the practice and possibility of racial exclusion operates as a powerful constraint on the employment opportunities of Samoan women.

The distinctive differences between the labour force particpation of New Zealand and Island born Samoan women were emphasized in the discussion of levels of unemployment. The Island born women in the sample had experienced little or no unemployment. In contrast the New Zealand born women appeared to be suffering disproportionately from the reduced levels of opportunity in the New Zealand labour market. The final part of the chapter considered attitudes towards

industrial organization. It appeared that in general the women involved in the study did not regard unions as being a particularly effective means of defending their position in the labour market.

This chapter has been the last of the three empirical chapters in this thesis and it is now time to return to the discussion left in Chapter three and consider how the distinctive labour force patterns of Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women relate back into the broader theoretical context identified in earlier discussions.

Chapter Eight

Samoan Women: A Reserve Army of Labour?

In Chapter two the relationship between capitalist accumulation and labour migration was discussed. It was argued that migrant workers have a specific role to play in the broad contours of capitalist development; in particular the cheapness of migrant workers and their vulnerability to political control were emphasized. The concept of the reserve army of labour was discussed as it has been one of the most influential attempts to explain the labour force position of migrant workers in capitalist economies. However in the attempts made to apply the reserve army of labour conceptualization to empirical situations, discussion has often focused on the use of migrant workers as a temporary labour force in a time of capitalist expansion (e.g. Castles and Kosack 1973).

Contemporary developments have resulted in fundamental changes in both the migration process and the global capitalist economy. The transition from mass labour migration to permanent settlement was discussed in Chapter three. The changes occuring in the New Zealand economy as a result of international restructuring of capital were also emphasized. In this chapter the concept of the reserve army of labour will be applied to the empirical data generated in the previous three chapters in order to explore more fully the nature of the labour force position of Samoan women in the context of these developments. The discussion begins with a brief summation of the distinctive positions which New Zealand born and Island born Samoan women occupy in the labour market.

8.1 Island Born Women

In Chapter five it was demonstrated that Island born Samoan women not only have a higher level of labour force participation than New Zealand women in general, they also tend to work longer hours and are more often working anti-social hours such as night shifts. They are forced by financial imperatives to take up paid work and the problems of childcare mean that they have little choice

about the hours they work. Thus because of their economic and social position in New Zealand they comprise a labour force willing to work intensively and at times when other workers are not available.

Chapter six indicated that Island born Samoan women are overwhelmingly concentrated in semiskilled and unskilled manual jobs within those sectors of the economy defined as 'women's work'. These jobs are typified by a shortage of labour because they share several characteristics. They are relatively low paid, have an unpleasant working environment and involve routine, monotonous tasks. Despite the undesirable nature of the jobs undertaken by many of these women, data on work history showed a high level of job stability. It was suggested that this was related to the economic goals of migration.

In Chapter seven it was shown that the concentration of Island born Samoan women workers in the lower levels of the labour market is being reproduced, partly because of racial exclusion. Not only is there discrimination at the point of employment, but also in connection with promotion. Additionally it has been seen that amongst the women interviewed there was a low level of interest in unions and little understanding of their functions.

Thus the requirement by capital for a pliant and flexible labour force willing to accept long hours of repetitive work is met by Island born Samoan women workers. These women respond as employers intend; as a stable workforce prepared to do long hours, put up with poor conditions and who are politically malleable. The result is that these women are highly attractive to capital. The fact that the majority of these women have now settled in New Zealand appears to have done little to change their role within the labour market. Many of the characteristics of the experience of Island born women are illustrated in the case study that follows.

Case Study

F. was born in Western Samoa twenty four years ago. She had five years at school but left before she gained any formal qualifications to work with the rest of her family on their plantation outside a small

village on Upolu.

She came to New Zealand five years ago. She did not know that she was going to come until a week before she left. Her father had rung his sister who was living in Christchurch and had asked her to pay the fare. F. was told only after it was all organized. She didn't want to come in the beginning and she cried when she was told. Now that she has become more used to New Zealand she says its not so bad, but she still gets very homesick every now and then.

She stayed with her Auntie and Uncle when she arrived in Christchurch. Within a month she was able to secure paid employment as a machinist at the same firm as her uncle worked. She has been in this job ever since. The position involves sewing the seams on pantihose. F. had never been inside a factory before she started. There was a six week training period and after the six weeks was up she had to reach a daily quota of seams sewed. If not she did not have a job.

She works at least fifty hours each week and if there is extra overtime avaliable she does it. She is paid using a bonus system; if she sews enough seams each day she gets extra money. On a good week she gets paid $320 in her hand. She sends at least half of this amount straight home to her parents in Samoa. She says that she likes her job, its easier work than on the plantation and her friends are the women she works with.

8.2 New Zealand Born Women

If attention is focused on the position New Zealand born Samoan women occupy in the labour market, the situation being analyzed is quite different. In Chapter five it was demonstrated that while these women also have a high rate of labour force participation, in contrast to the Island born women, they have fewer financial commitments. This reduces the amount of hours they feel obliged to work. Further, the difficulties of childcare are not as pressing for the New Zealand born

women because of the development of new kin networks in the New Zealand context.

The New Zealand born women have made very clear attempts at upward occupational mobility. As was shown in Chapter six, they express preference for non manual work and as a result their occupational distribution is not as concentrated as that of the Island born women. Further, because of their attempts at upward mobility, these women are more likely to leave a job with which they are dissatisfied. Thus clearly the second generation of Samoan women in New Zealand will not automatically fill the same position in the labour market as their mothers.

However, in Chapter seven it was shown that poor access to vocational training and racial exclusion are forcing New Zealand born women into the same labour market position as Island born women. While the first generation of Samoan women was specifically recruited for these low status manual jobs, to a certain extent the concentration of Samoan women in the working class is being reproduced. Again, the issues identified are usefully illustrated by the case study which follows.

> Case Study:
> C. was born in New Zealand twenty-six years ago. Her father is from Rarotonga and her mother from Western Samoa. Both her parents have worked as unskilled factory workers, although since her father had a stroke her mother has given up paid work to look after him. She left school in the fifth form to do a clerical course for which she received funding through the Labour Department. The family needed the extra money and so the course was seen as preferable to school. After she finished the course she got her first job as an invoice clerk for a manufacturing firm. This job was arranged through her course. After thirteen months work she was made redundant. The management of the firm said that they had too many employees and took the 'last in - first off' approach to staff shedding.

She was unemployed for a month before beginning a temporary three month job at the footwear factory where her mother was employed. Throughout the time she was employed at this factory she continued to look for clerical work without success. In desperation she took on a job as an assembly worker at an electronics firm and stayed there for two years before the monotony of the work finally made her decide to leave. Another period of unemployment followed, and then two years work as a setter in a carpet factory. She said she enjoyed this job, "It wasn't like a factory job," but was made redundant when an Australian company took over the firm and laid off one hundred workers.

The next five months she spent working as a kitchen hand during the evening, hunting for a clerical job during the day. Finally she decided to move up to Wellington to look for work. After six months she was offered a clerical job in a Union office but then her father had a stroke and she felt obliged to return to Christchurch to help her mother. Since then she has continued to look unsuccessfully for a clerical job. When I met her she had just started another factory job as a food processor. It is only a seasonal job, but if she is good enough there is a pretty good chance that the firm will keep her on.

> "I don't like factory work and there is no career in it but what can I do? It's a dirty job and you are only there for one thing and that is to work. I really want to do office work, to do something I can use my brain in. But there is no office work and so I have to do factory jobs, and then when I go for an interview they think I'm going backward. But what else can I do? I've applied to so many places; government departments, big firms, small firms, all the agencies, I've been doorknocking, but the employers just don't want to know you."

How are these differences to be explained on a theoretical level? Are Island born Samoan women workers a reserve army of labour? And what about the position of the New Zealand born women? The answers to these questions need to take into full account the functions performed by different categories of labour in the New Zealand economy.

8.3 The Reserve Army of Labour

It may be remembered that the reserve army of labour formed two functions for capital. Firstly, it constituted an ever ready supply of human material which could be exploited as the market expanded, and secondly, it pressed on the army of active workers and kept the claims of the latter in check. When the reserve army of labour conceptualization has been used to consider the position of migrant workers in advanced capitalist economies, theorists have usually emphasized the first function and drawn upon evidence of disproportionate unemployment amongst migrant workers in times of economic recession. This is presumed to lend support to the view that migrant workers act as an easily disposable reserve army of labour who are brought in to the labour force at times of economic boom and discarded when recession sets in.

This is not to argue that the second function of the reserve army of labour has been completely ignored. Collins (1984), for example, argues that migrant workers check the claims of the active work force by holding down wages through the provision of cheap labour. However the existence of a wage determination process in New Zealand, which prescibes minimum wages, means that the use of migrant labour cannot directly or in any simple way influence wage determination. It is only if aspects such as the high productivity of migrant workers, together with the relative disadvantage of migrant workers with respect to the provision of facilities are considered, that the 'cheap' aspect of migrant labour can be stressed (Collins 1988).

As a result the 'disposability' function of the reserve army of labour has tended to be main focus of debate in discussions about the migrant workers. Spoonley (1982) and Bedggood (1980), for example, both use this form of the reserve army of labour model in the New Zealand context. They draw upon evidence of disproportionate levels of Pacific Island Polynesian unemployment at times of economic recession. They then argue that higher levels of job insecurity among Pacific island Polynesians lends support to the view that Pacific Island workers act as part of an easily disposable reserve army of labour who are drawn into the labour force during times of economic expansion and discarded when a slump arises.

However it is not as simple as this. Neither of these studies takes into consideration the distinction between the migrant Island born population and the minority New Zealand born population. Further, in order to see how the reserve army of labour concept is of relevance to this analysis it should be remembered that there are three quite distinct types of reserve army; the latent, the stagnant and the floating. Both of these points have implications for subsequent discussion.

The latent reserve army of labour is made up of those people outside the system of capitalist relations who can be drawn upon as surplus workers. In this case the latent reserve army of labour is made up of people in Western Samoa. The migration from Western Samoa to New Zealand arose because New Zealand was unable to generate sufficient labour reserves internally to satisfy the requirements for workers during a period of economic expansion. In other words, these workers were brought into paid employment when an absolute increase in the size of the working population in New Zealand was required. In this sense the Island born women were part of the latent reserve army of labour in the same way as the rural unemployed within the countryside were in Marx's day (Castles and Kosack 1973, Lever Tracey 1981).

However once the migrants, both men and women, arrive in New Zealand and enter the New Zealand labour force, they enter into capitalist relations and so leave the latent reserve army of labour. They will only ever regain this status should they return permanently to Western Samoa. The transition from mass labour migration to permanent settlement has meant that this is increasingly unlikely to happen. Therefore the movement out of the latent reserve army of labour is generally a one way movement. While the latent reserve army of labour can be drawn on at will for expansion, but can no longer effectively be made to carry the reflux of recession or crisis (Lever Tracey 1981).

Thus the strategy for capital has shifted from mobilizing a latent reserve army of labour of unemployed or underemployed workers in an underdeveloped country to that of creating a floating surplus population of unskilled and semiskilled workers in the developed country. Having established that Island born Samoan women workers are no longer part of the latent reserve army of labour, now the

focus of the debate is whether or not these women are part of the floating or stagnant reserves (Miles 1986).

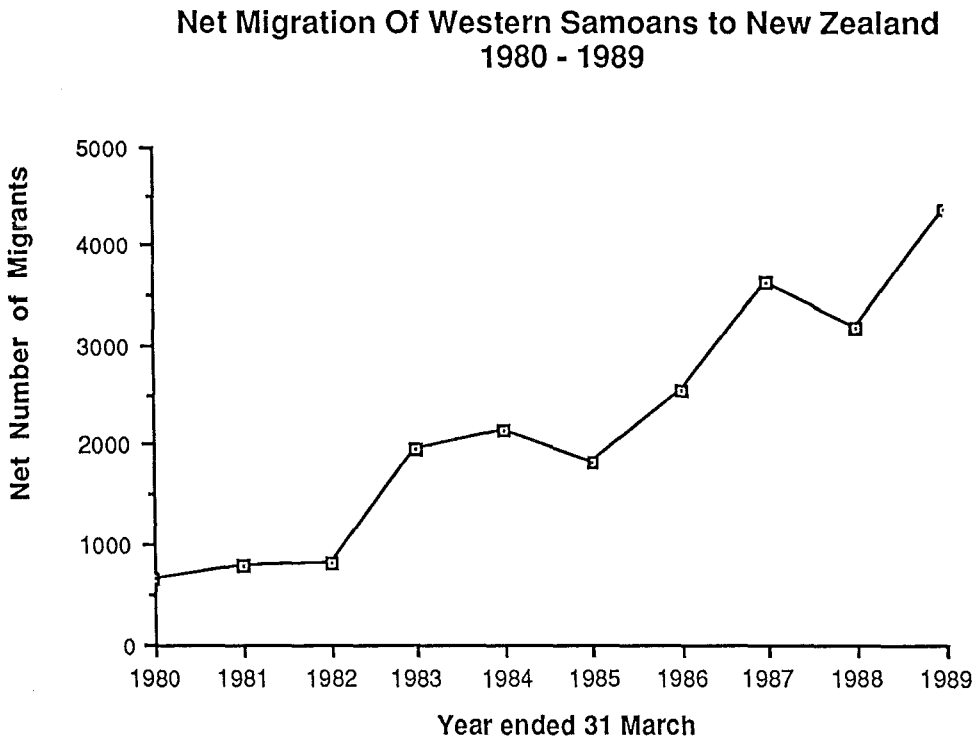
Firstly the structure of the labour market must be taken into consideration. It was demonstrated in Chapter six that the labour market in New Zealand is divided into sexually demarcated sectors. Because of the distinction which exists between 'men's work' and 'women's work' Island born Samoan women could never constitute a reserve army of labour at the level of the national economy. Any analysis must take into consideration the segregation of the labour market by sex (Bruegel 1979).

However, even if occupational segregation by sex is taken into consideration, the application of the reserve army of labour concept remains problematic. Despite the fact that Island born Samoan women workers tend to have inferior jobs in the New Zealand labour market, the empirical evidence for their performing either floating or stagnant reserve army of labour functions is negligable. Certainly Island born Samoan women are over-represented amongst the unemployed, however the levels of unemployment involved do not represent the mass redundancies which would be expected if the women formed a floating reserve army of labour (Loomis 1989).

Further, although high levels of unemployment have persisted throughout much of the 1980s as a result of continuing recession and economic restructuring, immigration from Western Samoa to New Zealand has actually increased during this period. Figure 8.1 shows that net migration of Western Samoans into New Zealand has risen steadily throughout the 1980s.

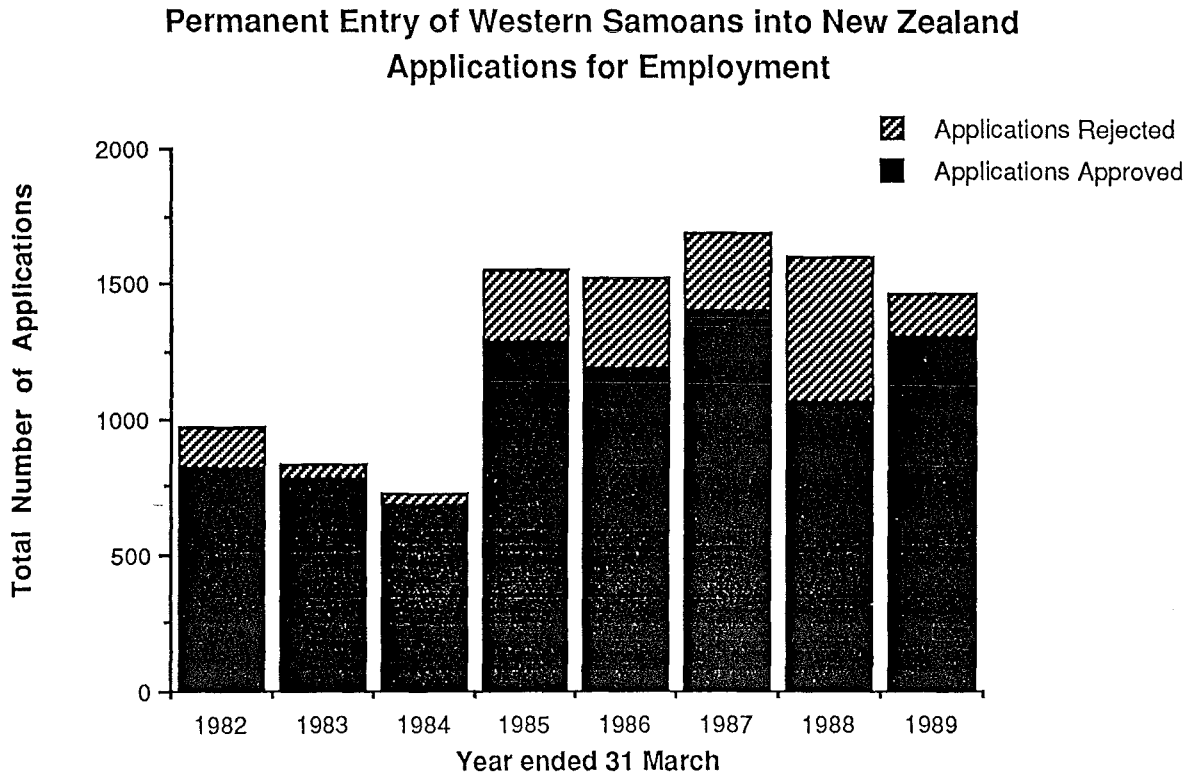
In addition, as indicated in Figure 8.2, the vast majority of applications made by Western Samoans for permanent residence made on the grounds of employment continue to be approved. It should be remembered that all Samoans entering on this basis must have a prearranged job in New Zealand. In addition to the applications for permanent entry, out of the 1270 applications for temporary work permits made by Western Samoans between 1 April 1982 and 31 March 1989, 1235 were approved (Immigration Service, Wellington 1989). While the figures

Figure 8.1



From: Department of Statistics, published tables 1973 - 1981, unpublished tables 1982 - 1989

Figure 8.2



From: Immigration Permit Information, Immigration Service, Wellington 1989

above are not broken down by sex there is no reason to assume that the relatively even sex ratio, which has characterized Western Samoan migration to New Zealand in recent years, has changed. Quite clearly there has been a sustained demand for Island born Samoan workers in New Zealand throughout the 1980s despite the reduced levels of overall employment.

The reasons for the maintenance of the relative position of Island born Samoan women in a time of economic recession and associated restructuring appear to be connected to the kinds of paid work the women perform. Although the changes associated with the new international division of labour have resulted in a decline in the number of unskilled and semiskilled positions available in manufacturing, it does not follow that all unskilled and semiskilled positions will be eliminated from the economy, if only because not all sectors and processes employing such labour can be exported. In particular, service industries can be cited as an example. Mechanisation is hindered in the service sector by the heterogenous structure of the industry and the diversity of the labour processes involved. In addition services are by their nature tied to a particular site or population (Gibson and Graham 1986). In this respect the concentration of Island born women in the service sector, which was identified in this study, becomes increasingly significant.

In fact some commentators have observed that an increasing polarization of the labour force in developed countries should be anticipated, and that the numbers of low skilled jobs in unregulated and non-unionised branches of industry will increase. Catering, the retail trades, and light manufacturing have all been cited as examples of industries in which the relatively favourable wages and employment conditions acheived by generations of trade unionism are being eroded (Castles 1989, Cohen 1987).

The changing structure of employment by sex is another relatively unexplored dimension of this polarization. The substantial growth of short term contract work and part time work, together with the increase in the levels of subcontracting and outwork, are affecting employment opportunities for women. Women will get more jobs because more jobs are becoming ill paid, insecure or part time (Mitter 1986).

In this context the reasons for the maintenance of the position of Island born Samoan women is clear. Although there has been a massive decline in the number of positions avaliable in the New Zealand labour market, it would appear that there remain a considerable number of low paid, undesirable jobs available to women. New Zealand women are, in general, still unwilling to take on these undesirable jobs (even if they do pay minimum wages) when they have access to welfare benefits as an alternative to low paid jobs (Heisler 1986, Sassen 1988). Island born Samoan women comprise a pool of labour available to fill those positions that indigenous women workers reject.

Because the two groups are relatively non competitive, Island born Samoan women can not perform the function of a floating reserve army of labour. Nor can Island born Samoan women be dismissed by employers to make way for indigenous women workers. The unskilled positions that Island born women occupy within the female sectors of manual employment simply do not correspond with the sorts of jobs indigenous women workers want to undertake. Because of their occupational distribution, Island born Samoan women could only ever form a reserve army of labour in respect to themselves.

In contrast, New Zealand born Samoan women have never been part of the latent reserve, in the sense that Island born women were, because they have always been involved in capitalist relations. However, through their attempts at occupational mobility, it could be argued that New Zealand born women have unwittingly become a part of the floating reserve army of labour, not just for unskilled positions within manufacturing, but for the lower levels of women's work in general. This idea is supported by the high levels of unemployment found among these women, as well as their high level of job turnover. As a result of their distinctive labour force characteristics, in particular their rejection of the attitudes of Island born Samoan women with respect to the sorts of jobs and kinds of conditions they are prepared to accept in the workplace, the second generation women form a more dispensable form of labour which is being used to 'fill up the gaps'. As a corollary to this phenomenon, New Zealand born women are also increasingly becoming part of a stagnant reserve army of labour made up of long term unemployed.

This is not to deny that some Island born women are also subject to the particular processes of exclusion that New Zealand born women experience. Nor is it to argue that New Zealand born Samoan women form *the* reserve army of labour for female sectors of the labour market. No one group of women permanently forms this reserve; its constitution is fluid and dynamic. In New Zealand at present an increasing number of workers of all descriptions are subject to periods of unemployment and so form part of the floating reserve army of labour. However it would appear that many New Zealand born women are marginalized from direct participation in the capitalist production process.

The exclusion of New Zealand born Samoan women occurs because the New Zealand capitalist economy is currently unable to offer a job to all who live in this country, and because there is a hierarchy of work whereby semiskilled and unskilled positions offering low wages remain to be filled by someone. In other words the jobs which tend to be available to these women are jobs that they don't particularly like or want. Thus the problem is the inablility of the capitalist mode of production to fully utilize the labour power of the second generation (Miles 1986).

8.4 A modification of the Reserve Army of Labour

It is clear from this discussion is that an empirical consideration of the impact of economic crisis and subsequent restructuring on the labour force position of Samoan women workers forces a modification of the reserve army of labour conceptualization. Miles (1986) has suggested that in the current phase of capitalist development migrant labour should be seen as divided into those who are relatively permanently in the labour force and those who are temporary ie. between those whose labour power has been retained because they remain in key sectors, and those who are expelled into the floating reserve army of labour. Given that not all jobs will be lost, capital will retain those workers from whom the greatest amount of surplus value can be extracted (Carchedi 1979, Miles 1986, Loomis 1989).

If such a distinction is applied to Samoan women workers in New Zealand, then to a certain extent the division between permanent and temporary workers appears to correspond with the division between Island born and New Zealand born

Samoan women. Consideration of the impact of recession and economic restructuring on the employment patterns of Samoan women has highlighted the longer term tendency for Island born women to be more fully drawn into the labour force. Even though their role is a subordinate one within the New Zealand labour market, it is crucial to the effective functioning of the economy. A similar phenomena has been observed in both Western Europe (Castles et al 1984) and Australia (Lever Tracey 1981, Lever Tracey and Quinlan 1988) and it appears that in many cases migrant workers have become 'a central component of the productive working class under capitalism' (Lever Tracey 1981).

New Zealand born women, on the other hand, are more marginal workers and likely to be expelled in to the floating reserve army of labour. Further, the indications are that it is becoming increasingly difficult for those women who are members of the floating reserve army of labour to find new buyers for their labour power. The long term effect of such exclusion on the second generation has yet to be considered in New Zealand, however the observations of Castles et al (1984) in the West European context serve as a warning.

He claims that the first generation of migrants have a 'dual consciousness' in that they compare their living and working conditions in Western Europe with those in their home country. The second generation have a new frame of reference. Because they have grown up in a developed country they share the aspirations of the young people of that country about work and social life. However often they are unable to fufill these aims. Without the dual consciouness, without a home where they feel as if they belong, there is little with which they can counter exclusion. The result is disaffection and alienation.

8.5 Conclusion

The evidence in this thesis suggests that Samoan women are incorporated into the New Zealand labour market in a complex way, as changes in the migration process intersect with fundamental structural changes in the New Zealand econmy. Island born Samoan women were initially incorporated into the New Zealand labour force as replacement workers at a time when the internal reserve army of labour was inadequate. These women have since become a vital part of

the female labour force in key sectors of the economy where the conditions of work serve as a disincentive to indigenous women. Because they are an integral part of the productive working class, they do not perform reserve army of labour functions. Instead it is the New Zealand born women who are bearing the onus of the restructuring process, and these women are, in effect, part of the floating reserve army of labour.

Thus the general claim about Samoan women constituting a reserve army of labour is mistaken because when the concept is employed it is used in a way that assumes the homegeneity of the labour market, of Samoan women workers, and of the positions which they occupy. In order for the concept to be useful greater care must be given to fully recognizing both the diversity within the category of 'Samoan women' and the complexity of the structural processes at work (Miles 1986).

The discussion above has clarified at an empirical level the characteristics of the labour force position of Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women in the New Zealand labour force. It has also highlighted the need for greater precision in the use of the concept of a reserve army of labour. However the significance of the reserve army of labour concept for a more satisfactory theorization of the position of migrant women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy has yet to be established. This will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Nine

Towards a Theoretical Reformulation

In this, the concluding chapter of the thesis, an attempt is made to move beyond the confines of present theoretical frameworks towards the construction of an analysis which better represents the position of migrant and minority women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy. The discussion begins with a critique of the concept of the reserve army of labour.

This concept was used empirically in the previous chapter to explore the distinctive labour force positions of the two groups of Samoan women. It was shown that, in general, Island born women do not form part of the reserve army of labour, no matter how carefully the concept is applied. The concept is of more relevance in a discussion about the labour force position of New Zealand born women. However there remained a number of difficulties associated with its use. In this chapter it will be argued that the difficulties, which arise when the reserve army of labour concept is applied to an empirical situation, result from the theoretical inadequacy of the concept. Once this theoretical inadequacy is identified it is then possible to indicate a way in which the reformulation of existing frameworks could take place.

Anthias (1980), in the context of a discussion about the employment of women, and Lever Tracey (1981), in a discussion about migrant workers, have identified the reason why the concept of a reserve army of labour is so difficult to operationalize in empirical research. They point out that the concept of the reserve army of labour refers only to that section of active labour that is expelled from direct participation in the capitalist production process; the floating reserve army of labour, or the potential labour force that is outside of capitalist relations; the latent reserve army of labour. These economic categories are thus defined according to the *function* they perform for capital. They do not refer to the particular groups of people who constitute the reserve army of labour. The

sources of these categories can only be determined by the analysis of a particular social formation at a particular time.

These two levels of the analysis, the function of the reserve army of labour and the sources of the reserve army of labour, must not be conflated. Even though the various categories may be filled by ethnic or gender groups, the concept of the reserve army of labour can not be used to explain why such groups fill such categories (Anthias 1980). While capital determines the organization of work processes and the demand for labour, the way in which the demand for labour is satisfied is historically and spatially specific and depends on the articulation of capitalism with other forces. As Phillips and Taylor (1980:86) observe, capital 'is concerned not just with the logic of surplus extraction but with an assertion of command. It is necessarily sensitive to those social relations which make some workers more subordinate than others.' This point has important implications for subsequent theorization. Clearly the Marxian concept of the reserve army of labour, which focuses on economic relations, must be reconceptualized in order to adequately explain the position of migrant women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy.

The work of Phizacklea (1982, 1983) suggests one way in which this could be done. Following her earlier work with Miles (Phizacklea and Miles 1980) she argues that the analysis of migrant women's employment should take place at the level of the social formation rather than the mode of production (see Appendix One). This entails a shift away from the application of Marxist economic categories to migrant women, to a consideration of the position of migrant women in economic, politico-legal and ideological relations. In advocating such a conceptualization Phizacklea acknowledges that the subordinate position of migrant women in the labour force is related to their position in society as a whole.

She argues that migrant women 'occupy a subordinate position in politico-legal and ideological relations ... and this position is replicated and reinforced by their position in the labour market.' (Phizacklea 1983:101) She explains that an adequate theoretical framework cannot be developed using pure capital logic

and acknowledges the need for an analysis of patriarchy.

Although her theorization of patriarchy is never made explicit, it would appear that she assigns patriarchy to the realm of ideology. She argues that 'migrant women have a special place in ideological relations because as women they are primarily defined as actual or potential wives and mothers' and goes on to say that ' ... migrant women occupy a subordinate position in politico-legal relations and I believe we can only grasp why they occupy that position by analysing their position in ideological relations' (Phizacklea 1983:101).

There are two points to be made about this formulation. The first is that even though Phizacklea has moved away from a conception of Marxism as an economic analysis, through her focus on capitalist social formation rather than the capitalist mode of production, she still acknowledges the need for a seperate analysis of patriarchy. Despite arguments to the contrary (Anthias 1980), a Marxist analysis cannot, by itself, facilitate the development of a satisfactory theoretical framework for a consideration of the position of migrant women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy.

The second point is that Phizacklea is falling into the trap of assigning patriarchy to the realm of ideology, and capitalism to the economy. As was argued in Chapter two, this is an unsatisfactory analysis. Capitalism and patriarchy must be recognized as being independent, yet interacting, sets of social relations which exist at all levels of the social formation; economic, political and ideological. Patriarchal structures are marked by social relations that allow men to oppress women. In capitalism the structures are identified by social relations that enable capital to appropriate surplus value from labour (Walby 1986).

The specific nature of the labour force position of migrant and minority women women in the context of economic restructuring can only be understood when the analysis takes into consideration the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy. In order to demonstrate this point it is useful to refer back to some of the issues highlighted in the body of the thesis.

In Chapter three it was shown that the migration experience of Samoan women is governed by a different set of conditions to that of Samoan men. Although an analysis of the geographically uneven development of capitalism was useful, in that it allowed a discussion of the relationship between New Zealand (the economically dominant capitalist country) and Western Samoa (the economically dependent country), consideration of the changing nature of the sexual division of labour enhanced the argument. In order to analyze the reasons why women form part of the labour flow, the auspices under which they migrate, and the structure of the migration experience for women, the articulation of capitalist and patriarchal structures must be considered. The labour migration of Samoan women is an enforced migration both in terms of the economic relations between an underdeveloped country and a developed country, and in terms of the patriarchal relations between men and women.

In the discussion about labour force participation in Chapter five the conflict of interest between men and capital, and its associated impact on women, was particularly evident. The distinctive patterns of the labour force participation of Island born and New Zealand born Samoan women could not be explained by capital logic alone. It is only when the material relations of the family, and the subordination of women to men was considered, that the economic activity rates, the structure of work, and the hours the women worked could be explained. The tensions resulting from the conflict between capitalism and patriarchy were particularly evident in the struggles of the Island born women to reconcile their role in paid work with their unpaid domestic labour.

The third area in which the impact of the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy was particularly manifest was in the structure of the labour market. The distinctive patterns of sexually demarcated 'mens work' and 'womens work' in the labour force can only be understood by considering how the demands of capital articulate with patriarchal power relationships. It is the subordination of women to men that results in women being drawn into deskilled, low paid and insecure jobs and excluded from others. Patriarchal relations are also directly implicated in the struggle beween capital and labour over control of the capitalist production process.

However it is not enough to resort to a deterministic account in which the position of Samoan women is seen as a product of the structural constraints of patriarchal and capitalist domination. All of these patterns are historically and spatially specific and must be constructed analytically. The key issues shift according time and context. For example, this study has shown that conflict between the interests of capitalism and patriarchy dominates the experiences of many Island born Samoan women. In contrast the present experiences of the New Zealand born Samoan women are more influenced by the effects of capitalism than by patriarchy.

The articulation between capitalism and patriarchy is never static but is constantly occuring and recurring over specific issues. It is necessary to be attentive to each situation in order to understand the dynamics of the processes at work. The outcomes are neither straight forward nor inevitable. Freedom from the constraint of trying to squeeze every facet of Samoan women's lives into a 'fit' with the needs of capital means that attention can be focused on the specific practises within particular situations which impact upon the experiences of these women. This leads to a much better understanding of the way in which the diversity of experiences are constituted.

In sum, the complexity of the empirical experiences of Samoan women mitigates against the use of a Marxist perspective as a single source of explanation. In this thesis forms of domination based on both class and gender have been identified. While an analysis of the workings of capitalism must remain a constituent part of the theoretical framework, an analysis of gender cannot be 'tacked on' to a finished theory of the economy. Future attempts to consider the position of migrant and minority women in the labour force of an advanced capitalist economy must take the issue of the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy right into the heart of the analysis.

Footnotes

(1) In this thesis the definition of 'Samoan' that has been adopted defines the population according to a common biological or ancestral background. This definition is considered by many researchers - including those from the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs - to be of less relevance than a definition derived from group affiliation based on cultural and ancestral criteria (Dept of Statistics 1986). In this study it was decided that the former definition would be used because it is closely comparable with the Pacific Island Polynesian population derived from the New Zealand Censuses of Population and Dwellings.

(2) Two alternative approaches have been advocated by feminist writers. Radical feminism examines men's and women's experiences in terms of the inter-relationships between the sexes (Firestone 1979, Millet 1977). Socialist feminism, on the other hand, attempts to link gender relations to the wider framework of social relations, in particular class (Hartmann 1979, Eisenstein 1979).

(3) The other main theoretical approach, which developed independently of the reserve army of labour thesis, postulates a dual labour market. This approach was developed by radical economists in the 1970s and was based on empirical work in the American and European labour markets. The theory initially posited a dualism in the labourforce, in which the secondary labour force was distinguished by personal, occupational and industrial characteristics from the primary labour force (Doeringer and Piore 1971, Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975).

Variations of dual labour market theories have been used in studies of migrant employment by American theorists focusing on the position of migrant Mexican and Puerto Ricans in the labour market (Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975), in British studies researching the employment of West Indians (Bosanquet and Doeringer 1973), and in New Zealand in the context of Pacific Island migrants (Bedford and Gibson 1986, Brosnan 1989).

(4) There has been considerable confusion over the term 'reproduction' because the term has been used to denote three different concepts: the reproduction of the entire system of production; the reproduction of the labour force; and biological human reproduction (Edholm et al 1977). In the discussion about the sexual division of labour the term is used to refer to the reproduction of the labour force, that is, social reproduction.

(5) Throughout this thesis the term 'indigenous' is used to refer to the New Zealand labour force exclusive of migrant workers. This is standard usage among Marxist theorists writing abour labour migration.

(6) An attempt was made to obtain census data which would substantiate the findings in this section. However the information made avaliable was somewhat ambiguous.

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Appendix One
The Interview Schedule

A. Island Born

How many years have you lived in New Zealand?

Why did you come to New Zealand?

Who did you come to New Zealand with?

What did you do in Samoa?

What sort of impressions did you have about New Zealand before you came?

How did those impressions compare with the reality?

How long do you think you will stay in New Zealand?

What aspects of fa'aSamoa are important for you as a Samoan living in New Zealand?

B. New Zealand Born

Have you always lived in Christchurch?

Have you ever been to Samoa?

Would you like to go to Samoa?

What are/were your impressions of Samoa?

Can you speak Samoan?

Is it spoken at home?

What aspects of fa'aSamoa are important for you as some one born in New Zealand to Samoan parents?

C. Paid Employment

What is your job?

Who is your employer?

What does the firm you work for do?

How many hours each week do you work?

How long have you had this job?

How did you get it?

How much training do you need for this job?

Are you learning special skills doing this job?

How much do you get paid each week?
What other jobs have you had?
Why did you leave those jobs?
Have you had any breaks from work?
How do you spend the money you earn?
Do you send money back to Samoa?
    Regularly or for special occasions?
What do you like about your job?
What do you dislike about your job?
Would you prefer not to work?
Do you belong to a union?
    What do you think about union activities?
Has being a woman ever made any difference to you at work?
    Being Samoan?

D. Not in Paid Employment

Are you looking for work?
How long have you been unemployed for?
What sort of job are you looking for?
How are you looking for a job?
What sort of jobs have you had in the past?
How long for?
Why did you leave your last job?
What sort of training do you have?
Did you belong to the union?
How do you manage financially?
    Benefits?
What do you do during the day?
Has being a woman made any difference to you looking for a job?
    Being Samoan?

E. Extra Work Situation

What sort of jobs do your parents do?

Are you married?

What sort of job does your husband do?

Do you have any children? (Ages)

Who looks after your children while you are at work?

Did you stay home while they were preschoolers?

Do you go to church?

What other interests do you have?

F. General demographic data

Where were you born?

How old are you?

What is your highest school qualification?

What are your highest tertiary qualification?

G. Household Schedule (for all members of the woman's household)

Position in household

Age

Sex

Occupation

Birthplace

Household Responsibilities